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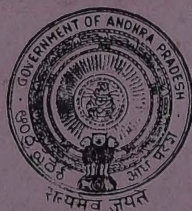
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Editor : R. PARTHASARATHY I.A.S.,

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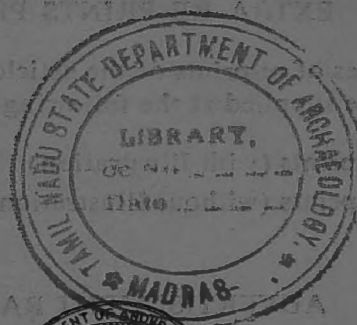
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EDITORIALLY SPEAKING.....

Itihas, a mouth piece of the State Archives Department, has reached a decade of its existence. From the crawling, limping and tottering stage of infancy it is now up, erect and strident. Last year (1980-81) the journal did not appear because of financial crunch. We assure the readers that from now onwards Itihas will be regularly in the hands of readers. Besides, the book reviews, we have added a new feature of land scape in Administration.

In the present edition we have kept in view the principle objective of the journal. The letters of the word 'ITIHAS' stands for I. T. (Indian Tradition), I. H. (Indian History) and the last letter 'S' Source material (namely that of tradition and history of India). The word Itihas itself amply sums up the primary objective of upholding the history and tradition through the publication of this journal.

Indian tradition and culture are like a vast expanse of the sea whose depth we are trying to fathom through research. Indian historical material are like vast mines, bounteous with wealth which can never be exhausted. Our past is like the distant stars in the sky which we are trying to gauge through historical enquiry. When we use the proper tools of research the grandeur of our past would rebound and echo as if radio waves rebound from the celestial stars.

Max Mueller, an eminent orientalist in his book 'What India has to teach us' said :

"If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with the area, power and beauty that nature can bestow, a very paradise on the earth I should point to India..... If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its cherished gifts, has most deeply pondered over the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which deserved the attention of even those who have studied Plato and Kant-I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we in Europe, who have been nurtured exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and one Semetic race, the Jewish, may draw the correction which is most wanted in order to make our inner

life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human life, not for this life only, but a transfigured life – again I should point to India”.

Warren Hastings, the very founder of the British Empire in India, went on record to say that “their ‘(Indian) literature’, their writings will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist and the sources of wealth and power which the dominion once yielded to Britain are lost even to remembrance.”

How prophetic were his words! Sir Valenti Chirol who is loath to give over-praise to Indians, says in “India”, his latest book, “at all times in our history, India has produced some of the finest and most subtle intellects of which the human race is capable”. J. R. Seelay in his ‘Expansion of England’ strikes a similar note when he says that “we are not cleverer than Hindu! our minds are not richer or larger than his”.

Are we just to gloat over the showers of praise of eminent men from other countries, or are we to justify this greatness by our actions in this century? The whole mass of literature and records of our past is before us to be unravelled by the keys of research—that is what Itihas Journal tries to do.

We hear that China was anxious to capture during their aggressive wars against India a place of absolute happiness in the Himalayan Table land, known as ‘Shangri’la’. We do not know whether such a place exists on the surface of the earth. India does not believe in physical conquest of Nations, but we can, as we did in the past, conquer spiritually.

All festivity is truth.

Longest journey is through the mind.

There is no better deliverance from the World Than through the art.

— GOETHE

Shall we reach eternal Truth by ever continuing spirit of enquiry and by journeying of our minds to the hoary past into the world of Religion, arts and antiquity, literature and culture ?

R. PARTHASARATHY
Editor

RECORDS OF RAJADHIRAJA AT DRAKSHARAMA - A STUDY

C. SOMASUNDARA RAO
and
Mrs. M. KRISHNA KUMARI

Kulottunga-I, son of Rajaraja Narendra and Ammanga became the master of the eastern Chalukyan and Chola dominions by 1070 A.D. As he descended from the Chalukya line on the paternal side and the Chola line on the maternal side, the historians designated him and his successors as the Chalukya-Cholas.

During the rule of the Chalukya Cholas a number of local chiefs and mandalikas aided the Chalukya Chola rulers in times of need and thus enjoyed autonomous authority in Andhradesa. After the rule of Rajaraja-II (1146-1173 A.D.), 4 kings reigned in succession on the Chalukya-Chola throne terminating by about 1279 A.D. We have the reigns of Rajadhiraja-II (1163-79 A.D.), Kulottunga-III (1178-1216 A.D.), Rajaraja-III (1216-60 A.D.) and Rajendra III (1246-79 A.D.). It is curious to note that the Chalukya-Chola kings mentioned in the inscriptions of the Andhra area are not always the same as the kings of the Tamil area. The identity of the names of the kings and that of the reign periods are the same only in the case of the inscriptions hailing from the present districts of Cuddapah and Nellore. The Draksharama records numbering twenty-two and one inscription from Simhachalam which are dated between A.D. 1193 and 1303¹ mention the names of the two kings, viz., Rajadhiraja and Rajaraja. Their identity with the Chalukya Chola kings is disputed on the basis of the dates supplied by the inscriptions. The present paper relates to the records of Rajadhiraja at Draksarama and their significance in the reconstruction of the last phase of the Chalukya rule in Andhra.

Not much attention has been paid by scholars to these inscriptions owing to the supposition that they do not show the kings' effective authority in the region. The desire of the Kakatiyas to occupy the Coastal Andhra tract evidenced itself early in their career. Prola-II was dead in one of those battles fought for the possession of that area;² his son, Rudradeva's inscriptions dated A.D. 1158, 1168 and 1186 are available at Draksharama,³ though dated in the reigns of

Rajaraja-II and Vishnuvardhana. It was Rudradeva's nephew Ganapati-deva who subdued the Coastal Andhra region sometime before A.D. 1210, which was retained by his successors with occasional losses of the Godavari valley and the region near Nellore. This has led to the view that it might have been customary for the engravers of inscriptions at Draksharama to mention the name of the Chalukya-Chola ruler, even though there was no such ruler.⁴ It has been suggested by V. Yasoda Devi that the king mentioned in these inscriptions should be identified with the Chalukya-Chola king of the Tamil area, in spite of the difference in name.⁵

As against these views, it may be pointed out that if it were a custom at Draksharama to date the records in the reigns of the Chalukya-Chola rulers, it should have been found throughout the series of inscriptions at that place. But we have a number of inscriptions issued by the Durjayas of Velanadu,⁶ the Haihayas of Kona-sema,⁷ the Chiefs of Kolanu⁸ etc., without any reference to the Chalukya-Chola ruler. Again, it is inexplicable how the name of the king of Draksharama could be different from the king known from the Tamil records on the same date. It is arbitrary to identify Rajadhiraja with Kulottunga-III and the like, without much evidence. Moreover, among the Chalukya-Chola rulers, there was none except Kulottunga-III, who was credited with the conquest of the Andhra area and occupation of Urangai (Warangal). Even this seems to have been only a raid.

To identify the kings revealed by the inscriptions at Draksharama and the solitary record at Simhachalam with the Chalukya-Chola kings of the Tamil area, one should find evidence to show that such a practice of mentioning their names was in existence throughout Andhra. But such evidence is conspicuous by its absence at places other than Draksharama and Simhachalam. As stated already, the inscriptions located in the Nellore and Cuddapah districts agree with those coming from the Tamil area in respect of kings' names and their periods of rule.

If there is any connection of the kings known from the Draksharama inscriptions and the Simhachalam inscription with any of the Chalukya-Chola rulers, it could be Rajadhiraja-II who is known from his Tamil records up to his 16th regnal year. He could have migrated to the area near Draksharama after his expulsion from the Chola throne by Kulottunga-III, as pointed out by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.⁹

Now it is proposed to take the inscriptions between A.D. 1193 and 1303 in the reigns of Rajadhiraja and Rajaraja at Draksharama and Simhachalam to have been issued in the names of kings of a local dynasty which was a collateral branch of the Chalukya-Cholas.

Identifying Rajadhiraja of the Draksharama and Simhachalam inscriptions with *Rajadhiraja-II* the rule of this king can be placed between his 28th regnal year (S. 1115 = A.D. 1193)¹⁰ and 49th year (S. 1137 = A.D. 1215)¹¹. This means that the king came to the Draksharama area between his 16th and 28th regnal years.

Rajadhiraja-II was probably succeeded by *Rajadhiraja-III* whose relationship with the former is not known. His inscriptions start from his 36th year (S. 1174 = A.D. 1252)¹² so that he could be taken to have been the immediate successor of Rajadhiraja-II in 1216. His latest regnal year is the 37th, equivalent to (S. 1175 A.D. 1253)¹³.

Rajadhiraja-III's successor was one Rajaraja whose inscriptions refer to S. 1176 = A.D. 1254¹⁴ (38th regnal year) and S. 1189 = A.D. 1267.¹⁵ He can thus be placed as the ruler between A.D. 1254 and 1267. Here, as well as for the next reign, it is not possible to take the regnal years as those of the concerned kings themselves, because we would be placing the accession of Rajadhiraja-III, Rajaraja and the next Rajadhiraja-IV at A.D. 1216 itself. Therefore it may be argued that, excepting the regnal years of Rajadhiraja-II which are a continuation of his rule from after his rule in Tamil area, the years of other rulers are the total years of the family's rule and not their regnal years. Therefore the Saka years are indicators of their duration of rule.

Next to Rajaraja ruled Rajadhiraja-IV whose inscriptions may be taken to commence from S. 1180 = A.D. 1258 (43rd years)¹⁶ and end by S. 1225 = A.D. 1303¹⁷. He must have acted as heir apparent during A.D. 1258-67.

The genealogy and chronology of his branch of the Chalukya-Chola family may be formulated as follows -

Rajadhiraja-II	(A.D. 1193-1215)
Rajadhiraja-III	(A.D. 1216-1253)
Rajaraja	(A.D. 1254-1267)
Rajadhiraja-IV	(A.D. 1258-1303)

One interesting feature in some of these inscriptions which may justify our surmise of the rule of a branch of the Chalukya-Chola dynasty is that close relatives and officers of Kakati Ganapatideva and Rudramadevi mention the names of these petty rulers. Raja Nayaka, a minister of Recherla Rudri Reddi, who was a vassal of Ganapatideva, mentions the 46th year, besides Saka 1134 (= A.D. 1212).¹⁸ This 46th year was not referred to any king in the record itself. It does not belong to the reign of Kakati Ganapati, because he ascended the throne in A.D. 1198. It certainly fits into the reign of Rajadhiraja-II who was king of the Tamil areas by about 1163-66. In S. 1175 = A.D. 1253 which was the 37th year of Rajadhiraja-III,¹⁹ Jayapa Nayaka, the brother-in-law and the general of Kakati Ganapati, donates a gift at Draksharama. In a similar manner, an officer, of Rudramadevi mentions Rajadhiraja-IV in S. 1200 = A.D. 1278²⁰. A little later in S. 1215 = A.D. 1293.²¹ Induluri Annayya who was matrimonially connected with the Kakatiyas and an officer of the time of Prataparudra, dates his inscription in the reign of Rajadhiraja-IV. These instances point, not to the suzerainty of kings named Rajadhiraja over the donors but to the ruler of local kings near Draksharama. That the officers of the Kakatiyas chose to mention the local kings shows the semi-independent nature of the rule of the Chiefs in the Godavari valley like this branch of the Chalukya-Cholas, the Haihayas of Kona, the Chalukyas of Pithapur, Nidadavole, etc.

The above discussion reveals that a collateral branch of the Chalukya-Chola family ruled in the vicinity of Draksharama for nearly a century after the authority, effective or feeble, of the Chalukya-Cholas ended. This rule was mentioned optionally by chiefs or their officers. It has also been shown above that the mention of the name of the king does not necessarily indicate the suzerainty over the donor-chiefs or officers, but points to the rule of the concerned king in the area in question.

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ENGLISH ACQUISITION OF CHICACOLE CIRCAR

M. S. R. ANJANEYULU

Chicacole was "the most northerly and largest" of the Northern Circars.¹ It was divided into three divisions, i.e., Ichapur, Chicacole and Kasimkota. Being an important port on the Coromandel Coast and the chief centre of trade in the Chicacole Circar, Vizagapatam played a prominent role in the history of the Circar.

The English East India Company established a factory at Vizagapatam in 1682. They had no political interests in the Circar upto 1752 and limited their activities to promote their trade and commerce. They did not entangle themselves in the local disturbances and followed a policy of neutrality and always applied themselves to obtain trade concessions.

The year 1753 marked a turning point in the history of Northern Circars. The French obtained the Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar Circars by the treaty of Aurangabad (23 November 1753). The possession of this extensive coastal tract provided them increased opportunities for trade and enormous prestige. This significant event caused a change of attitude in the policy of Fort St. George authorities by obliging them to counteract.

The Aurangabad treaty disappointed Saunders, the Governor of Fort St. George, who coveted the Circars.² He cautioned the Council at Vizagapatam: "We are more concerned than surprised at this event when we consider what influence they have at Aurangabad by means of their troops. The possession of these countries will put it in their power greatly to hurt the Company's investment and we imagine they will lose no opportunity of doing it".³ But the English had to bide their time.

The most remarkable feature was steadfast friendship of Vijayarama Raju towards the English against all odds. Eventhough the English confined themselves to affectionate advices and promises, he assured them of his loyal friendship.⁴ His nephew and successor Ananda Gajapati Raju followed suit. Further, as Bussy rebuked his

late uncle, Ananda Raju was alienated.⁵ Determined to dislodge the French, he urged strongly the English to co-operate. But he received only evasive replies. Vizagapatam itself surrendered to Bussy on 27 June 1757.

Dissatisfied with the negative attitude of Fort St. George, he directly corresponded with Clive in Bengal. Bussy was suspicious of him since the battle of Bobbili and apprehending his correspondence with the English, he punished him by enhancing the peshkash. Exasperated, Ananda Raju wrote frantically to Fort St. George : "In short, I meet with ruin in your friendship".⁶ When Bussy proceeded to Pondicherry to lead an attack on Madras⁷ Ananda Raju seized Vizagapatam and hoisted the English flag on the factory (2 September 1758).⁸

Ananda Raju's initiative was highly potential. With his characteristic vision, Clive utilised this. Moreover, Nizam Ali Khan, the younger brother of Salabat Jang, asked for his help. He despatched Col. Forde to the Circars to help the Raja and wrote to Madras ; "If this expedition only threw the country into such confusion as to prevent our enemies from collecting any revenues, it will answer in a great measure, to design and the expense".⁹ The Madras Government deputed John Andrews, the Chief of Masulipatam, to co-operate with Forde.

Andrews first drew up an agreement with Ananda Raju on 21 November 1758. It stipulated "that all plunder should be equally divided; that all the countries which might be conquered should be delivered to the Rajah who was to collect the revenue; but that the sea ports and towns at the mouths of the rivers should belong to the Company with the revenues of the districts annexed thereto; that no treaty for the disposal or restitution, whether of the Rajah or of the English possessions should be made without the consent of both parties; that the Rajah should supply fifty thousand rupees a month for the expenses of the army and six thousand to commence from their arrival at Vizagapatam for the particular expenses of the officers"¹⁰ It laid the responsibility for the acquisition and administration of the Circars on Ananda Raju. On this point, the Bengal Government, which was responsible for the expedition, commented that "by the tenor of Andrews' letter it appears as if he entertained thoughts of taking possession of large territories in the Company's interests on many accounts".¹¹ This shows even Clive did not now prefer terri-

torial aggrandizement. They considered themselves only auxiliaries to Ananda Raju and thus would promote their trade.

On 7 December 1758 the allies defeated the French commander Conflans at Chandurti. The Raja was not conscious of its significance. He was more anxious to acquire influence over the local Zamindars¹² and his reluctance to adhere to the treaty led to a fresh agreement.¹³ Accordingly, the Company agreed "that whatsoever sums the Raja might furnish should be considered as a loan and that the revenues of all the countries that might be reduced on either side of the Godavari, excepting such as belonged to the French either by establishment or granted in property should be equally divided between him and the English".¹⁴

Thus by this new treaty the English were entitled to half of the territories south of the Godavari under the French influence. They became the Raja's equal partners. Soon after this agreement the Raja and Forde marched against Masulipatam and captured it on 8 April 1759. On 14th May 1759 Salabat Jang agreed to the 'requests' of Col. Forde and made over to the English "a territory extending eighty miles along the sea and twenty miles in land which, besides including Masulipatam, Nizampatam, and other important stations produced an annual revenue of forty lakhs of rupees".¹⁵ The French were to vacate it in a fortnight and they were debarred from the Northern Circars. He agreed not to question Ananda Raju's collusion with the English, not to demand the money collected by him during his march from Chicacole to Masulipatam and not to enhance the tribute. The English promised not to protect and assist the Nawab's enemies. They recognised the Nizam's authority over the Northern Circars. Ananda Raju could only expel the French without any advantage. He only facilitated the English supremacy. Thus during this period the Company acquired the country round Masulipatam as a first step to acquire the whole of the Circars. The treaty of 1759 recognized Salabat Jang as the master of the Circars. For seven years anarchy prevailed in the Northern Circars. In 1762, Salabat Jang was deposed by his brother Nizam Ali,¹⁶ who was friendly to the English. So the circumstances were not in favour of the Company which had to bide its time.

The uncertain situation in the Circars was complicated by the sudden and premature death of Ananda Raju at Rajahmundry about

23 February 1760. The eventual succession dispute caused utter confusion. While the struggle was bitter,¹⁷ Nizam Ali marched into the Circars and demanded the arrears for the Chicacole and Rajahmundry Circars. This obliged the Vizianagaram family to arrive at a compromise. Vijayarama Raju's succession was acknowledged and Sitarama Raju became diwan. Nizam Ali made Vijayarama Raju responsible for the rent of the Chicacole Circar. Hussain Ali Khan was appointed the Faujdar of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustaphanagar.

At the request of Masulipatam, the English tried in vain to procure Nizam Ali's confirmation of Salabat Jung's grants.¹⁸ But in 1762 the Nizam needed the English assistance against the Marathas and deputed Hussain Ali Khan to Madras with the offer of five Circars. But the Madras Government refused military alliance.

Anarchy persisted in the Circars because of the pre-occupation and weakness of the Nizam and Vizianagaram respectively and the English reluctance to acquire power. The disputes between Vijayarama Raju and Sitarama Raju unsettled the Chicacole Circar. Further, the Marathas, invaded the Circar. More complications arose when Nizam Ali appointed Fateh-ud Din Mahomed Khan to the Circars superseding Sitarama Raju, supposed to be responsible for the management of the Circar on behalf of his brother.¹⁹ Meanwhile Sitarama Raju subjugated Kimidi in 1761. He became the defacto ruler of the Circar. He resented the appointment of Fateh-ud Din and marched to Rajahmundry against him; and the Faujdar fled to Masulipatam.²⁰ Then he threatened to capture Mugalaturru Zamindar, a friend of the English (1763).²¹ A clash with the Company was imminent. Nizam Ali himself, unable to deal with him, asked the English assistance. Fortunately for the Company, clash was averted as Sitarama Raju did not molest the Raja because of combined opposition to his unjust action. But he protested to the Company for sheltering the Raja and "openly paraded his hopes of coercing Nizam Ali into granting him the Circars as his nominal deputy"²² (1764).

Meanwhile, the Madras and Bombay Governments, in view of the fluid conditions in the Circars and possible advantages argued for the acquisition of the Circars.²³ The Court of Directors agreed but advised caution.²⁴ After deliberation Palks government decided to 'rent' the Circars for a period. Kandregula Jogi Pantulu, the dubash, was appointed to negotiate with Nizam Ali (November 1764).

The instructions ²⁵ to Jogi Pantulu reveal that the English wanted to be the defacto rulers. Finding Hussain Ali obstructive²⁶ the Madras Government entered into an agreement with him promising military aid to control the Circars (1765). He offered to defray the expenses. Thus the Company would have a footing in the Circars in case of protracted negotiations with Nizam Ali.²⁷ Jogi Pantulu obtained the ratification of the agreement with Hussain Ali.

Hussain Ali regained Ellore and Mustaphanagar Circars. Then he tried to subjugate Sitarama Raju. The Company was reluctant to alienate Sitarama Raju. However, the English disliked the garrisoning of the Rajahmundry by Sitarama Raju and Madras directed Masulipatam "to dislodge him peaceably therefrom".²⁸ This was accomplished. Sitarama Raju reluctantly evacuated it, observing the growing power of the English and his own insecurity at Vizianagaram because of the recalcitrance of the hill Zamindars.

Observing the English strength, Sitarama Raju entered into an agreement with the Company towards the close of October 1765.²⁹ But, dissatisfaction of Hussain Ali and the threat of Nizam Ali to march into the Circars³⁰ forced the English to nullify it. They began to assist ³¹ Hussain Ali to negotiate terms with Sitarama Raju. When he pressed for military assistance to reduce Sitarama Raju, the Government observing a policy of 'caution' desired 'to explore every peaceful avenue' to reconcile Sitarama Raju and Hussain Ali, since the Company's 'obligations to the Vizianagaram family were substantial'.³² Sitarama Raju was obdurate and the Company's troops marched to Rajahmundry. The news of Shah Alam's farman and the fact that an envoy of Nizam Ali was on his way to Masulipatam to settle the Circars, stopped the hostilities.

At this juncture on 12 August 1765 Clive obtained the grant³³ of Northern Circars from the Mughal Emperor. The English apprehending the Nizam's hostility to it awaited opportunity and published the Sanads from Masulipatam on 3 March 1766 while the Nizam was engaged with the Bhonslay. They dismissed Hussain Ali conferring a Jagir on him later on. On hearing of the publication of the Sanads the Nizam hastened to Hyderabad to oppose the English. He even thought of warring with the English but financial stringency prevented him. Ultimately he was inclined for an agreement. The Madras Government deputed General Caillaud with "full powers for consulting the treaty". A treaty was concluded on 12 November 1766.³⁴

According to this treaty the five Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellore, Mustaphanagar and Murtizanagar and Chicacole were given as 'free gift' to the Company. The Company agreed to pay "for the three Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustaphanagar, five lakhs of rupees and for those of Chicacole and Murtuzanagar, as soon as they are in their hand and the settling the same is well effected, two lakhs each, in all nine lakhs of rupees per annum, in whatever year the assistance of their troops shall not be required as a consideration for the free gift of the above mentioned five Circars". The English should manage the Chicacole Circar. This signifies that the Nizam practically abandoned it. The English agreed to acquire Murtezanuggur after the demise of Basalat Jang.

The Nizam, disliking the treaty of 1766, tried to invalidate it. But he was defeated by the English before Trinomalee and at Vaniembady when he allied with Hyder Ali. So, he was accommodating. On 23 February 1768 he agreed to a new treaty by which the tribute was reduced and the Circars were surrendered.³⁵ Thus the Circars were finally secured by the English. Later they connected their Southern and Northern settlements. This was their first acquisition in the South India.

Nizam Ali agreed to direct Narayana Deo of Kimidi who declared independence on the basis of an alleged sanad granted by the Nizam and other Rajas to obey the Company. The new acquisitions were at first governed from Masulipatam, but in 1769 Andrews, the then Chief, was sent to Vizagapatam and made the first Chief in Council of the region. It is ironical that the Vizianagaram Zamin-dari which helped the English to acquire the Circars had to accept the English as its overlord. The English established their authority over the Pusapatis in 1767 when they forced Sitarama Raju to comply; and he selfishly surrendered the Pusapati family. But Vizianagaram tried to preserve its independence until 1749. The English defeated it at Padmanabham in 1794, occupied the Chicacole Circar and tamed the Vizianagaram family. In 1767 the Pasapatis paid their first tribute of three lakhs to the Chief of Masulipatam for the Circar, having lost the Rajahmundry Circar.³⁶

Thus the Company, which established a factory at Vizagpatam in 1682, carried a precarious trade upto 1753. It changed its attitude under the pressure of the disturbed political conditions of the time

and the French activities. It improved its position by acquiring the "Masulipatam Farms" during 1753-59 and established its authority in the Chicacole Circar in 1768 with the help of the Pusa-pati family. □

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"The five circars of . . . came under the English for an annual payment of nine lakhs and military help whenever found necessary. They finally came into British possession in 1823 by the payment to the Nizam's Government of Rs. 11,66,666 in lieu of an annual tribute" (*A Hand-book to the Records of the Government of India in the Imperial Record Department, 1748-1859*).
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THE SYSTEM OF REVENUE AND PAYMENTS IN THE CARNATIC ZAMINDARIES

A bane to the Ryots.¹

D. SUBRAHMANYAM REDDY,

In the Hindu system of revenue administration there was little room for the employment of an intermediate class of proprietors interposed between the sovereign and the subject.² The introduction of such a class was an innovation made by the Mohammadans. The authors of the Fifth Report had attempted to trace the origin of the Word Zamindar to the time of the Hindu Rajas. They say that it went by the name *chaudhari* which was subsequently changed by the Mohammedans to that of *Krory* or Collector of a crore of dams (Rs. 250,000) in consequence of the lands being divided into charges yielding that amount, and that it was not till a late period of Mohammedan government that the term *Krory* was superseded by that of *Zamindars*.³ But the existence of hill *Zamindars* in the Northern *Sirkars* and of *Poligars* in the south who claim descent from the ancient sovereigns of the country and who exercised sovereign rights within their territories shows that the status of *Zamindars* originated⁴ in other ways besides the conversion of old Hindu chiefs into Mohammedan officials. Whatever might be the origin of *Zamindars* it was the Mohammedan conquest that led to the system of intermediate landholders and of farmers and renters and to the introduction of persian names and terms to denote ideas connected with land tenures.⁵

The *Zamindar* in modern Indian usage means a landlord, literally, the word *Zamindar* means 'holder of land'. And *Zamindari* was a right belonged to a rural class other than and standing above, the peasantry.⁶ The possessors of *Zamindari* rights were not possessors of a visible article of property, like any other, but of a title to a constant share in the product of society and this right must have been created by social forces.⁷ The *sanads* of the *Zamindars* of *Kalahasti* show the nature of the tenure on which they hold their respective lands.⁸

Before the commencement of the nineteenth century the ryots in Zamindari tracts, as well as the ryots who paid revenue direct to Government in Madras Presidency, were rack-rented and oppressed. During the nineteenth century, however the latter class of ryots had prospered in consequence of the measures adopted from time to time for the amelioration of their condition, while the former have remained in most parts of the country in much the same condition as before.⁹ The Zamindari ryots formed nearly one-fourth of the total agricultural population of the Presidency.¹⁰

For a proper understanding of the relations of Zamindars and ryots, it is necessary briefly to glance at the state of the case before the permanent settlement was carried out in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Ancient Hindu Law recognised only two beneficial interests in land, viz. (1) that of the sovereign or his representative and (2) that of the cultivators holding the land either individually or as members of a joint family or a joint village community. Neither the sovereign nor the cultivators had unlimited proprietary right or full ownership. The sovereign's right consisted in his power to collect a share of the produce of the cultivated land, known by the name Melvaram in the southern districts of the Presidency. But this Melvaram was not rent in the strict signification of the term. The share of the ryots or cultivators was known by the name Kudivaram; and by ryots was to be understood "the cultivators who employ, superintend and assist the labours and who are everywhere the farmers of the country, the creators and payers of the land revenue."¹¹ The Melvaram and Kudivaram rights were thus the two principal independent interests in land, and all other interests were derived from, or were subordinate to, either the one or the other. The ryot or ulkudi or mirasidar was the receiver of the Kudivaram, and he might cultivate the land himself or have it cultivated by tenants in cases in which the Government share of the produce left him a Kudivaram which had a margin above the cost of the cultivator's subsistence. The tenant put in by the ryot was called a porakudi or stranger cultivator. In exceptional cases, the porakudi was permitted to acquire a beneficial interest in land and the status of an ul-perakudi, but this was not recognised as a part of the general common law of country. At the other end of the scale, there were the Zamindars, Jagirdars and inamdars, who derived their rights from the sovereign with jurisdiction over portions of the country which would not, under the Hindu Law, affect the Kudivaram right vested in the ryots. What-

ever may be the origin of a Zamindar, his right extended only to the Melvaram, except in the case of Khamar, Pannai or home-farm lands which were kept distinct from lands cultivated by ryots. This was the common law of the country, but in practice, of course, owing to the absence of the settled authority the ryots were grievously oppressed by the levy of illegal cesses. In a few cases, where the "sist" or regular assessment was a fixed sum of money, the extra assessments represented the additional value of the Government share due to the rise in the value of produce, and as such legitimate enough; but in most cases the extra assessments were purely arbitrary.¹² In the Northern Circars, the ryots share of the produce which was originally not less than one-half was, by the additional imposts levied on various pretexts, reduced to one-fourth or one-fifth.¹³ Mr. Stratton (Collector of Western Peshcush) has given a full account of the revenue system prevailing in the Western Pollams¹⁴ which include lands of the Kalahasti Zamindars. His report shows that, besides the mamool teerva which was in itself sufficiently onerous, imposts were being levied in the Kalahasti Zamindari under the denomination of Katnams, and that most of these were arbitrary exactions which had originated in the second half of the 18th century.¹⁶ Kalahasti Zamindari is an instance of Zamindari in which the existence of the Kudivaram right in the ryot was denied.¹⁷

After having made a brief survey of the origin of Zamindars and their rights and condition and rights of the cultivating class of the Madras Presidency let us now switch over to the system of revenue and payments in the second half of the 18th century of the Kalahasti Zamindari (which comprised a large area¹⁸ of western Pollams) and the incidence of abuse to each one of them which in turn became oppressive to the ryots.

The sources of revenue to this Zamindari may be classed under three principal heads namely (1) Land revenue (2) Imposts and (3) Syer or Customers. *Land revenue* was levied in three different modes viz. (1) by Teerva or money assessment (2) by warum or share of produce and (3) by Jodee or quit rent.

Teerva has its etymology from the Telugu word Teerpu, signifying finished, settled, this in its relative sense implies that all arable lands belonging to every village have a Teerva or fixed money valuation sanctioned by mamool or custom of long observance. This

valuation depends entirely on partial causes. The mode observed in settling the Teerva was as follows. When a ryot was desirous to cultivate any tract of waste or jungle land, it was made over to him on cowle¹⁹ for a term of years on the principle of a 'russeed' or Progressive increase. The karnam of village registrar and Reddy or head inhabitant had the power to fix the sum in conjunction with the Sirkar servants which was to be paid annually with every necessary consideration to the labour incident to clearing the ground.²⁰ At the expiration of the Cowle (when the ground was supposed to be brought to the highest pitch of improvement by successive cultivation and the application of manure), a fixed Teerva in reference to the valuation of that kind of arable land under the village was then settled by the general concurrence of the Sirkar servants, the karnam, the Reddy and some of the principal villagers.²¹ This was considered Mamool Teerva even after and registered accordingly in the karnam accounts.

The Teerva or valuation so regulated by partial causes varied in every village and on every kind of land, but the rates in each were well known to every inhabitant belonging to it. The Sirkar, however, seldom levied the revenue conformable to the registered Mamool Teerva. In some instances less than the Mamool Teerva was levied from favour towards particular individuals. But as more was most commonly exacted on all lands this circumstance gave rise to constant alteration between the Sirkar and the ryots which led to the considerable principles.²²

Had this valuation on all lands been settled at once at any one particular era by authority during the plenitude of power of either the Hindu or Muslim Government in the Carnatic, its justness might with reason be questioned, since the produce in former times owing probably to fewer restraints on agriculture, might have been more equal to the wants and population of the country than at the end of the 18th century. But as, on the contrary, the Mamool Teerva had been settled at different periods as waste land was gradually brought under cultivation with a previous reference to the actual value of arable land of the same description.²³ From this we can conclude that if there be any exception to the Mamool Teerva it should rather be viewed as operating partially than generally over the country.

When the Mamool Teerva is only required of the ryot he never

complains, but makes good his payments but as the Sirkar exacts more, it is necessary to explain by what means the ryot was enabled to pay the advanced demand which may be reduced to three²⁴ viz :

1. From the difference in the quality of land he engaged to cultivate which when taken at the Teerva assessment, it was not customary to measure annually, but often to take at guess by which means the ryot contrived to get more land than was stipulated in his engagement.

2. From the difference in the quality of the soil there being a particular rate of Teerva on each kind of land he contrived to get the first sort for the assessment usual for the second and so on with the rest which of course yields him a greater advantage.

3. From the difference in the price of grain, for when the price was high he was enabled to pay his rent with some reserve of profit for himself, but if low he loses all profit of grain. He had no power to husband the produce until the price rises. On the contrary he was either obliged to sell the whole quantity early in the season to discharge the dues of the Sirkar or he had to mortgage his grain at an enormous interest for the purpose, which proved equally detrimental to his hopes.

If the ryot had no opportunity of taking advantage of the exactions of the Zamindars or renters in respect to Teerva from one of the above mentioned expedients he sells his ploughs and effects, and absconds.

It is necessary to state by what means the ryot was enabled to take advantage over the Sarkar by the difference in the quantity of land and quality of the soil above the terms stipulated. The village Karnam and Reddy generally point out to the ryot the land he was to cultivate²⁵ and endeavour to bring him to adequate terms. The Karnams might settle with him without the concurrence of the Reddy but the Reddy was not competent to make any settlement without the Karnam. It was the interest of both the Karnam and the Reddy to favour the ryot from whom they derive their principal advantages. Although they make a show of holding out for the Sarkar interest they invariably in the end sacrifice that interest as they largely participate in the profits of the ryots from these collusions.²⁶ In this manner was the Teerva levied on punji and Nunji land.

The average rate of teerva levied on the Punja and Nanja lands in the various districts of the Zamindari was as follows:—

Districts	Punja or Dry grain land										Nunja or paddy land	Remarks,
	Teerva on each gorru											
	Sort 1		Sort 2		Sort 3		Sort 4		Sort 5			
	M.Ps.	A	Ps.	As.	Ps.	As.	Ps.	As.	Ps.	As.		
Kalahasti	2	10	1	0	0	12	0	10	0	8	The Nunja lands in all excepting the Seetarampur District were accounted for by Warum. The teer	The teer
Tripurantakapuram	0	12	0	8	0	4	-	-	-	-	va was here	calculated
Cullovt (A)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	on the land mea-	surement peculiar
Muttum	0	12	0	12	0	1	-	-	-	-	to each district,	
Loakee	1	0	0	12	0	8	-	-	-	-		
Saib Naid	2	0	1	0	0	8	-	-	-	-		
Modeppa Naid	2	0	1	0	0	8	-	-	-	-		
Loakacherry	2	0	1	0	0	8	-	-	-	-	(A) The Punja	The Punja
Tumbacherry	2	0	1	0	0	8	-	-	-	-	lands in this Dis-	trict were accou-
Eaegauwary	0	10	0	8	0	6	-	-	-	-	nted for by	Warum.
Seetarampuram	2	10	1	11	1	6	1	2	1	0	Ps. 3 As. 0 Ps. 2 As. 8 Ps. 1 As. 12 and Ps. 1 As. 8 respectively.	

When the ryot does not cultivate for a Teerva or money valuation, he then divides the produce with the Sirkar. The second mode of collecting the land revenue was denoted by the term *warum*, implying share. This was regulated by two considerations viz., (1) the caste and condition of mirasidars or persons having a preference to cultivate particular lands and (2) by the labour incidents to that cultivation.

The *first consideration* in respect to caste refers to Brahmins who from the prejudice of custom and religion never followed the plough and were therefore under the necessity of entertaining people to cultivate their land. In consideration of this additional expense they were liable to, they were allowed a large proportion of the produce. Of this principle, pundits who ranked among the first class of Brahmins got in 10 parts about the proportion of 6 and the Sirkar 4.²⁸ The higher castes of Rachawar, Yelamawar and Kammawar who were much favoured in this area by the zamindars (who belong to the same castes), shared as Pandits.²⁹ There were again peons who from once having been in better circumstances were from shame also restrained from following the plough and equally with Brahmins entertained ryots for the purpose.³⁰ They were therefore in some instances indulged with a larger share of the produce. It must be understood that the proportions above stated were not exact in every instance over the country, some being more and some less, but by forming this standard it was meant to convey an idea how the produce was distributed among the several classes of people above mentioned.

The *Second consideration* in respect to *warum* which refers to labour relates to ryots who get proportion of the produce equal to the labour incident to the cultivation. When the land to be calculated was under a tank equal to watering two crops³¹ annually or near a channel from a river,³² the Sirkar then gets something above half the produce. But if the ryot, however, had much trouble in watering the crops either by conducting it from tanks³³ by water courses to any distance or by raising water from wells³⁴ for the purpose, he then got the larger share.³⁵ The *warum* on all arable land was in most instances registered in the Karnams accounts in the same manner as Teerva. As already observed the Punja lands in the Cullavat and the Nunja lands in all excepting the Seetharamapuram district were accounted for by *warum*.

The last item of land revenue now to be noticed is Jodee³⁶ or quit-rent. This assessment invariably falls on inamdars who in virtue

of Sunnad, prescription or inheritance stand in the light of Sirkar with respect to the ryots under them, and enjoy the whole produce of their inams with the reserve of a moderate fixed quit-rent payable annually either in money or grain as may be stipulated to the Sirkar. When this jodee or quit-rent was once fixed it ought not to be raised,³⁷ but the zamindars were no way scrupulous about encroaching on the right of their subjects.³⁸ The Jodee paid by the Amaram, Kattubadi and Agrahara inamdars was S. P. 2494-15, S.P.519-3 and 1373-4 respectively.³⁹

As jodee related solely to inamdars and was levied with a few exceptions on all, it may be here necessary to notice the several descriptions of inams peculiar to this area. They may be reduced under the following classes viz., Devadayam, Darmadayam, Punnutu Manyalu, Cheruvu maniyam, Amerum and Kattubadi.

Devadayams were temple lands assigned for the support of temples, which when exempt from any quit-rent were denominated *Serva Manyam*. These lands were not very extensive or valuable through this zamindari, notwithstanding every village however small had a pagoda of its own with some lands attached to it for the expenses incident to its establishment. The Devadayams and Brahmadayams of lands assigned to the pagodas and Brahmins yielded a revenue of star pagodas 16966-6, while all the categories of inams yielded a revenue of S.P.32438-7.⁴⁰

Dharmadayam or charity lands comprised two classes viz. (1) Brahmadayam or lands enjoyed by Brahmins which on favourable quit rent were denominated *Shotrium inams* (2) Kyrati or free alms to Moormen for the support of Mosques.

3. Pannutu Manyalu or Service gifts were lands enjoyed by village Karnams, Reddies and Barabulloti or village artificers of every description in virtue of their office for a stated service they were bound to perform.

4. Cheruvu Manyams were bestowed on any person who might have dug a tank at his own expense for the purpose of keeping its banks in repair and to reimburse him gradually for his first expense. They generally amounted to about 10 per cent on the whole produce of lands so brought under cultivation by means of the tank in question.

5. Amerum and

6. Kattubadi inams have been explained in the second part of this paper in connection with the payments. The Jodee paid by the Amerum and Kattubadi inamdars as already said amounted to S.P. 2494-15 and S.P. 519-3 respectively.

With respect to these several descriptions of inams it must be understood that the Zamindars were at liberty to resume the Amerum and Kattubadi inams without assigning any reason to the several occupants. But they could not justly resume the rest⁴¹ (this point had been made perfectly clear by a decision of the Court of Sadar Adalat in 1817 and by the position taken up by the Government) without there being a sufficient reason such as profligacy of character in Brahmins or neglect of duty in others who enjoyed inams for any stated service to be performed. The reversionary right in the inams was in the Zamindar.⁴² Here the Government never took into consideration the value of the assets of the estates in fixing the peshcush.⁴³

As regards the Sirkar grain and land measurements⁴⁴ are concerned they were on one uniform standard through the several "districts" dependent on the Kalahasti Zamindari with the exception of Seetarampuram. But the average value of land for each district under Kalahasti Zamindari as calculated from the Teerva rules of a few villages in each varied.⁴⁵

The mode generally observed by the Zamindars in collecting their revenue was to issue orders as money was required on renter and amildars amounting to a percentage on the revenue of the district under them. This percentage varied depending wholly on the exigencies of the moment and these orders for money and grain were issued until the whole of the revenue was collected without any regard to 'kist' or regular instalments. It sometimes happened that these orders were issued previous to the reaping of the harvest when the renters and amildars endeavoured to procure on advance from the ryots, who were pressed in a tribute rates to the demands of the Zamindars on their renters etc. In these cases they were under the necessity of mortgaging their share of the expected produce to a great disadvantage to satisfy those premature calls on the hard earnings of their industry.⁴⁶

It was customary through all the Kalahasti districts excepting Seetharampuram, to allot annually to every ryot Nunja lands to culti-

vate in proportion to the number of ploughs he entertained, as might appear registered in the Karnam's accounts. The whole of the Kalahasti districts with the exception of a few villages were under rent. The Zamindar's policy was to keep the rents small, seldom allowing more than two villages to be rented by any man, by which means he had an eye on the profits of all. To ascertain this matter with the utmost accuracy, it was usual with him to send first for the Anchandar's⁴⁷ appraisement of the crops and afterwards that part of the Karnam's accounts which showed the settlement between the renter and ryots—after comparing these documents with the terms of the rent, he generally exacted from the renters all the advantages they might have derived above 50 pagodas.⁴⁸ But when on the contrary they happened to meet with loss they were invariably pressed and if unable to discharge the balance against them they were either consigned over to the 'sibbandi' (in the manner to be explained in the second part of this paper) or the balance stood in the Poligar's accounts against them, and on their death falls on their heirs, for which all property they used formerly to acquire was liable to be attached.⁴⁹

It may naturally be inferred considering this severity on the part of the Zamindar, that no one could be induced to engage for any villages in rent, but the reverse was the case. The renters did not consider the practice unjust excepting when they were deprived of their rent before expiration of their lease, as they were not surprised in the difficulties, but on the contrary were perfectly aware of the little indulgence they were to expect. Their principal temptations to adventure as renters were first importance they for a time assumed in that character, which served as a lure to their destruction, and secondly the advantage they deprived by retaining all the best lands of the village in their own hands to cultivate, which yielded them a larger produce, by which their warum was consequently increased. The indifferent lands were distributed by them among other ryots. It is true the Zamindar was aware of the advantage derived by renters, but with which however, from policy he never interfered, the Sirkar warum being his only concerns.⁵⁰

The second principal source of revenue now to be explained viz. imposts may be considered under the heads of (1) cutnum or tribute (2) tax on castes and (3) Moterpha.

Cutnums consist of Mamool cutnum or customary tribute and

Ghair Mamool cutnum or extraordinary tribute generally demoninated puttee, literally signifying contrary to Mamool or custom.

(1) Mamool cutnums were fixed stated exactions to which the inhabitants had been subject. They cannot be traced back to any very distant period. The Mamool cutnum was levied on two different modes viz. (1) on teerva, a stated sum imposed on every pagoda of Teerva which the ryot agreed to pay for the land he cultivated and (2) on warum, a stated sum in like manner imposed on every candi of the ryots share of the crop which was valued at a fixed rate. (2) Ghair Mamool cutnum or puttee was an oppressive exaction on inamdars and the ryots who cultivated their lands and in some districts on ryots in general.

Regular imposts levied by the Kalahasti Zamindar above the rent consisted of (1) Khass cutnum or Zamindars own proper cutnum which was first imposed in the last quarter of the 18th century by the Zamindar Venkatapati Naidu⁵¹ at the rate of 2% on the ryots share of the crop.⁵² (2) Diwanee Tahree also imposed in the last quarter by the Zamindar at the rate of 1% on the ryot's share of the crop for the benefit of the Diwan Balaji Pundit⁵³ at the beginning of the last quarter of the 18th century but collected even after 25 years. The revenue from the Khass and the Diwanee Taheer by 1801 was S.P. 3820-4 and S.P. 1168-3 respectively.⁵⁴ The above two imposts were collected on this principle generally over every district dependent on this Zamindari, with this exception, however, in the northern purghan of Seetharapuram, where the produce was not accounted for by Warum. Here also the same percentage was levied on Teerva independent of which a separate Cutnum was collected in that district called Mamool Cutnum, which was also imposed by Venkatapati Naid in specific sums on each village and amounted to 3-15 annas per cent⁵⁵ on the land revenue of that district. As far as the Puttee is concerned it was levied by the Zamindar of Venkatagiri Zamindari only on inamdars, while in Kalahasti it proved more general and consequently as affecting the ryots more oppressive.⁵⁶ The puttee levied here by 1801 on ryots and inamdars was S. P. 12097-12.⁵⁷ Through the Kalahasti Zamindari every common ryot was taxed at the rate of 8 annas on each Candy of his share of the produce and those of the superior castes of Yelamas and Kammas 6 annas.⁵⁸ Besides this the Zamindar exacted from all land holders independent of their Jodee, one-fourth of the gross produce of their inams.⁵⁹ Through the several

pollams dependent on the Kalahasti Zamindary ryots were exempt from any puttee but all inamdars were subject to the same exaction of one-fourth of the produce of their inams above their Jodee. In Seetharampuram Pargana Puttee was hard on all classes of people 1. Inamdars had to pay half the produce of their inams above the usual Jodee. 2. In case their lands were not cultivated by themselves or their own immediate dependents, but by common ryots those ryots were then in like manner deprived of half their Warum. 3. All ryots through this district were subject to a general tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the amount of Teerva they respectively paid.⁶⁰ This oppressive tax was first collected by Venkatapati Naid in the middle of the 18th century but it was usual with him to levy it only every other year and occasionally once in three years. But the successor of Venkatapati Naid (Timma Naid) had, however, exacted the puttee yearly with the utmost severity since his accession. Except in the year 1800 the puttee on inamdars (which it was his intention to remit) and on the ryots which proved most oppressive continued to be collected even at the beginning of the 19th century.

The uniform rate through the several districts dependent on the Kalahasti Zamindari was $5\frac{1}{2}$ Madras Pagodas a candy at which the ryots warum was valued to levy the percentage of cutnum etc. The Zamindars grain accounts were however, closed at 4 Madras Pagodas a Candy at which rate all other transactions were settled between the Zamindar and his renters.⁶²

As regards the item of Nuzzers which yielded, by 1801, a revenue of S.P. 1574-1 and which appears in the Kalahasti accounts for fusly 1206, was collected that year on three pretences viz., the birth of the Zamindar's second son and on account of a Palakeen and elephant he at different time purchased.⁶³ Nuzzers solicited whenever a pretence offers which, however, can be considered only in the light of exactions, since refusal to pay the sum required of any village would bring on it the Zamindar's displeasure. Very heavy Nuzzers were collected to defray the expenses of the Gold Howder and Silver Plantain leaf⁴⁶ which the Zamindar had made up.

The Kalahasti Baza-Khurch was composed of several items of disbursements to which every village was subject consisting of Saderward, Batta to Sibbandi etc. But this abuse was not here carried to the same extent as in the Venkatagiri Zamindari. The whole amount on this item was Madras Pagodas 4,292-15-7-16th or Madras

Pagodas 3-10-8-16th percent on the Zamindar's gross revenue the greatest part however of this sum viz. Madras Pagodas, 2,673-311-16th was levied in Seetharamapuram, the percentage of which proved 6 pagodas 4 annas on the gross revenue of that district.⁶⁵ The Baza-Khurch was much more in that district in proportion to the rest.

It was customary with the Kalahasti Zamindar's to rent the privilege of taxing every house-keeper of particular castes who paid from one to three fanams yearly, and of transferring to the renter who were selected from the same castes, the power of levying fines for trespasses as punishment on any individual of a particular caste under them. If these fines exceeded a statement or a stated sum which varies from one rupee to one pagoda, they went to the Zamindar, but otherwise were the profit of the renter. The castes so taxed consisted of washermen, barbers, potters, blacksmith, shepherds, labourers etc.

This practice of taxing castes was first resorted to, with a view to settle with facility and despatch caste disputes which it was thought one of the same castes was most competent to effect in a satisfactory manner. The plan observed by all these renters in respect to the tax paid by every housekeeper within their jurisdiction was to compromise with them generally on a fair estimation which amount these people afterwards distributed among themselves and were enabled to pursue their calling without any further molestation. But this respect to fines for trespasses was very different. No family was safe from the reports of invidious informers whom the renters employ to foment private enmities and jealousies to induce complaints by which their profits from fines under a pretence of administering justice were greatly enhanced.⁶⁶

Under the head of Moterpha may be ranked three kinds of taxation viz. 1. The Akbari or tax on intoxicating drugs and spirituous liquors the licence of selling them being rented to particular individuals. In 1801 it yielded a revenue of S. P. 465-4⁶⁷ 2. Tax on trades such as weavers who paid a stated sum on each loom, oil-mongers on each oil mill etc. which was levied in proportion to their gains and varied in every village. The collection of these taxes was also in some instances under rent. 3. Ground rent which was levied on each house and was regulated by the caste and condition of the person inhabiting it, rent of coconut, Mango and Tamarind groves, as also the rent of fish produce from tanks etc.

The collections on account of Syr. or customs the third principal source of revenue, which yields revenue of S. P. 5082-0⁶⁸ were levied on three pretenses viz. (1) Teerva (here implying rates of customs) (2) Kavali or Police expenses and (3) Kussooms or fees in money.

The Syr Teerva or rates of customs as originally imposed were of very ancient date. They extended to the minutest article of luxury common use and the privilege of collecting them was generally rented. The rates were invariably raised at the numerous Mandeas established through these districts from the avidity for gain of every new renter which had already operated to the serious detriment of all internal trade.

Kavali fees were particularly levied in addition to the customs to defray the expense of maintaining Kavalgars on the roads for the protection of merchants. This collection was only made at custom chokies near passes and places particularly calculated for depredators to harbour in. These fees were distinctly stated with the Teerva rates, but the collection of them proved oppressive from furnishing a fresh pretense for exaction from the fair trader for protection when it frequently happened that no Kavalgars were maintained for the purpose and the amount derived from those fees proved for the exclusive benefit of the Zamindars or renters.

Russooms or money fees were allotted to various purposes.⁶⁹ In some instances for the advantage of particular churches, in others for the support of choultries for the convenience of travellers. These russooms were imposed by the authority of the zamindars and were levied by a percentage on the original rates of syr Teerva. When the customs were under rent both russooms and Kavali fees were frequently included in the rent for stated distinct sums, which the renters either paid away for the purposes intended, or the zamindars received the amount and defrayed the respective establishments.

In Kalahasti Zamindari while the total bereez inclusive of inams (S.P. 32,438-7) from its 854 villages was star pagodas 1,79,094-1 annas, the grand total of collections (excepting inams) when the Zamindari was transferred to the British was yielding S.P. 1,46,655-10 annas of which the regular collections, extra collections, collections from Amarum and Kattubadi inams, and the extra collections by individuals were S.P. 1,15,377-12, S.P. 13,673-0, S.P. 11,299-3 and

S.P. 6,305-8 respectively. While the gross revenue from the first items was S.P. 1,29,050-13, the total actual resources from the first three items of revenue was S.P. 1,40,350-1 and with the addition of the fourth item the grand total as said above amounted to S.P. 1,46,655-10 annas.⁷⁰

There is no doubt that in medieval India and also in the early modern period the surplus was controlled by the intermediaries and and also a part of it was appropriated by them. By all accounts the major share of the surplus went to the amirs, although the process of cultivation and the rural life was certainly controlled by the Zamindar.⁷¹ The amir could not exist independently of the Zamindar. This is a system which can only be described as feudal if we accept a totally modified definition of feudalism. It is mainly a system (1) in which the major source of production is agricultural production (2) in which a substantial share of the surplus produce is appropriated by a class which holds power militarily (3) in which the economic power of the class which appropriate surplus is based not only on the military strength of that class but also on the role that class is playing in the production process, whether of agricultural production or the subsidiary handicrafts production, and (4) in which dominating class in spite of changes within its fold is by and large a fairly closed group. We notice that there is very little chance of this class being overthrown by those who were actually cultivating or engaged in the process of cultivation, that it is dominant socially, politically and militarily, that even the revolts against the imperial government are dominated by this class and finally that, while this class is dependent on the emperor or the king for its position in many ways, the imperial system itself is dependent on the support of this particular class. It is only in this sense that we can call this system a feudal system.⁷²

II

As far as defraying the amount of their respective establishments are concerned the Kalahasti Zamindars observed three modes. They were (1) in money (2) in grain and (3) by an assignment of land. The last mode was however peculiar only to part of their military establishment. In describing the inconveniences and detriment arising from their grain and money payments the remarks may be considered equally applicable to their personal revenue and military establishments. But from the comparative extent and importance of each, they are intended more particularly to apply to the military.

Money Payments may be distinguished as nominal and actual for none of the Zamindar's dependents actually received the exact amount at which their services were engaged. This distinction arose from the importance they all attached to the "name of high rates of pay" for they were certain of only receiving the half or a third of their stipulated wages from the various unfair advantages resorted to by the Zamindars to lessen the amount.⁷³ If they feel themselves aggrieved they were at liberty to quit their service but being always kept three or four months in arrears the hope of ultimately obtaining some part of their pay generally prevented them from resorting to that expedient.⁷⁴ During this time they lived on the precarious pittance they either derived from charity loans etc., or on what they exacted by oppression, for which the importance they assumed as the Zamindar's peons was a sufficient sanction. The money payment of the Zamandars to their servants were extremely rare. The mode most generally resorted to and considered equivalent to a money payment was to give 8 or 10 peons an order to the amount of their pay on a renter or ryot who might have fallen three or four years in arrears on account of revenue.⁷⁵ The order was sometimes on such person who might have been fined by way of punishment and omitted within the period limited to pay the amount. To procure these orders or Tuncah, the peons were obliged to resort to corruption (for they found it their interest to bribe the Sum-predy or Gumasta who was the channel of communication with the Zamindar to procure them an order on some person who might be able to satisfy their demands) and whenever the order was passed, their demands were considered adjusted whether they proved successful or not in recovering the amount.⁷⁶ To this end the peons make up their account for delays for it was not to be expected that they could instantly enforce what the Zamindar's rapacity had been unable to compel. But if their exigencies were particularly pressing and from the character and circumstances of the person on whom the Tuncah was issued there was any probability of the amount being discharged by his being allowed three or four months for the purpose, they were then enabled to sell their Tuncah at a discount of 50 or 60 per cent. These were sometimes circulated in this manner through the country from one purchaser to another its relative value being regulated as the circumstances of the person in question were considered thriving or otherwise.⁷⁷ In case the peons did not dispose of the order they wait accordingly in a body on the person to whom it refers and during their importunities for payment exact from him 'batta' at the rate of one Sear of rice and one piece

daily per man.⁷⁸ In this manner the renter or ryot's means were exhausted, the impatience of the peons increases as their batta was discontinued, till atleast irritated by despair they plunder the poor unhappy man's effects, sell his house and in this manner reduce him and his family to want.⁷⁹ Compromise was however sometimes effected by the assistance of friends and relatives who sold his plough and cattle, with the amount of which and their own contributions they rid him of the importunities of the peons by paying them a half or two-thirds of their demands but the consequences were equally lamentable as the poor sufferer's industry was damped and his means exhausted beyond the chance of recovery.

With respect to the grain payments of the Poligars there were also some peculiarities. When any peon or other description of servants were engaged partly for nominal money wages and partly to be paid in grain, they invariably received the particular quantity of grain stipulated at the market price of the day, notwithstanding that their money wages might be at the same time discharged by grain at an advance of one or two hundred percent above the bazar rate.⁸⁰ This practice made the peons and other description of servants anxious to serve for a certain stipulation of grain only, but that indulgence was sparingly bestowed by the Zamindars to a very small number of their dependents. As already observed that Tuncahs were issued in lieu of money payments so it was necessary also to remark that Tuncahs on Amildars, renters and ryots for any quality of grain was considered equivalent to a money payment which peons could only obtain by the same course of bribery through the Zamindar's servants already adverted to. The same distress ensued if the man was unable to make good their demands in its full extent. But in case the grain was at hand as the peons were unable to transport it and to pay all the charges of customs, cart hire, measuring fees etc; they were under the necessity of selling off the grain at a price considerably below its value. Thus they in their turn found others ready to take advantage of their distress. This practice of issuing grain Tuncahs was particular to the Kalahasti and Venkatagiri Zamindaries but prevailed more in the latter. The Venkatagiri Zamindar besides imposed his own grain on his peons at an uniform advanced price for the whole year, which in the accounts appears to have been at 66 percent above the bazar rate for fusly 1207. But the Kalahasti Zamindar made a practice of issuing grain from his stores at any rate which might suit his convenience, which varied from 150 to 197 percent above the bazar rate.⁸¹

No grain Tuncahs were more common. The consequences of both these practices were equally ruinous, for as the Zamindars defraud and oppress their dependents they in their return considered that conduct of sufficient sanction for them to prey on the community. In Bommarajupollam there was a peculiar usage i.e., to deduct two or three months' pay from every description of servants to make up any deficiency in the crops from drought or other causes. In these cases the Venkatagiri and Kalahasti Zamindars imposed their grain on their dependents at a higher rate than usual so as to make the difference nearly equal to their loss.⁸² The ill consequences already drawn from this desolating system might therefore be considered to press equally alike on the same scale not only in Kalahasti but throughout the Western Pollams.

Having explained the most glaring abuses incident to the Zamindar's payments in money and grain, it remains to treat on the last mode viz., their assignments of land which solely apply to their military establishments and are to be considered under two distinct tenures named Amarum and Kattubadi. Under Amarum tenure whole villages were made over to peons in the proportion of 8 or 10 to each village who were then considered as the Mirasidars of the village.⁸³ They were jointly bound to make good the demand or rent originally stipulated, which was never after raised. It was of course the interest of these peons to encourage the ryots under them by giving the just share of the produce of their labour they were by custom entitled to "or they would desert their villages and resort to others where their rights were better respected."⁸⁴ It must not however be supposed that it was a practice of the Zamindars to bestow in this manner five productive villages on their peons. On the contrary they selected those in a state of ruin and decay which for the first two or three years they enjoyed free from any imposition beyond the original demand or rent stipulated. But as their means were repaired, water courses opened and the cultivation in proportion increased, they were gradually called on by the Zamindars for cutnums or nuzzers. They were compelled to pay these cutnums or nuzzers under threats of being ejected from their villages, till at least by degrees they paid nearly equal to the full value of their villages notwithstanding that under their original grant they were led to expect the most favourable terms.⁸⁵

These villages were divided into equal allotments agreeable to the number of Peons in each, which were made annually in some villages by mixing good, bad and indifferent land in each lot that the

profits of all may be nearly equal.⁸⁶ On these allotments being changed much alteration and jealousy ensued. The difference of the peons in these cases were sometimes settled by the interference of the Zamindars, but most commonly by the Karnams and head inhabitants of the adjoining villages who were called in to adjust them by arbitration. In some villages the allotments were made less frequently, in others the first allotment made on the original grant were never changed, each man binding himself to rest satisfied with the spot assigned to him cultivate.⁸⁷

When any share of a village falls vacant by death or otherwise the son of the former occupant succeeds without any other form than his name being registered at the Huzoor Cutcherry and by the Kurnum of the village. If he should happen to be an infant his share of land was cultivated by his relatives during his minority. If there should happen to be no son, the next male heir or relative waits on the Zamindar and obtains a Sunnud without which he could not succeed to the inheritance, and when there was no male heir the land reverted to the Zamindar, but when it might have been enjoyed by a family for several generations a portion of it was sometimes given to the nearest surviving female relative in inam, which also on her death reverts to the Zamindar.⁸⁸

I shall now take notice of the Principal obligations of the Amarum tenure, which however were not exacted from the Peons by any Muchelka,⁸⁹ the only form observed was their names being registered at the Huzoor Cutcherry and the rent they were bound to pay for their respective villages.

It is understood that they were to attend the Zamindar on his summons within the period he might require. Any neglect or delay in complying not satisfactorily explained was punished by dispossession from their lands or otherwise as suits the Zamindar's pleasure. The Amarum Peons being of the higher class were allowed to serve with such arms as they prefer. In case a Peon from sickness, minority, or other causes could not attend he must provide an efficient man to serve in his place.⁹⁰ While in attendance on the Zamindar they were entitled to a Seer of rice and any piece batta daily per man. They also received the same rate of batta on being detached on any duty unconnected with the concerns of their villages but they were most strictly to watch the Police within the respective limits of each and in case of any irregularity or thefts they were bound to answer to the complaint and to make good the amount of all stolen effects.⁹¹

The other mode of the poligars of paying their peons by assignments of land termed Kattubadi inams implies gifts to bind.⁹² The Kattubadi Peons were all ryots to whom spots of jungle and waste lands were assigned to cultivate in lieu of a stipulated money payment the proportion of which in Kalahasti Zamindari was as follows.

In Kalahasti Zamindari it was usual to give Kyjeetamwandlu or pike peons of the Yelama, Kamma and Rachawar castes, 1 Ghurru of Punja and 30 guntas of Nanja of waste arable land. The Welogoolu on matehlock peons of the Golla, Palli, Boya and Mala castes, which were considered inferior to those above mentioned were allowed only $\frac{1}{2}$ a ghurru of Punja and 20 guntas of Nanja. In Kalahasti Zamindari in case jungle land was assigned to the Kattubadi peons their allotments were then made to bear a just proportion to those of waste arable land above mentioned.⁹³ As far as the measurement of these allotment is concerned, in Kalahasti 40 guntas were allowed to a ghurru and 76 square feet to a gunta.⁹⁴

The Kattubadi Peons generally received an advance of Takkavi for the first two or three years, which as their means enable them they repay to the Zamindars, while poor they were obliged to call in "foreign aid" to cultivate their lands and to give up the produce to the persons whose ploughs they used. As their lands prove productive the Zamindars exact from them Cutnums or presents annually which were paid in different instalments and might be considered as the rent of their lands. The amount first levied was considered mamool cutnums or customary presents and was ever after collected.

The mamool cutnum was not however the only exaction to which they were subject, for as the peons in the course of time purchase ploughs and by cutting their own lands enjoy the whole produce the Zamindars exacted from them additional cutnums nearly equal to their grains. In case they refused to pay the amount the Zamindars chose to impose, they were dispossessed and other spots of waste and jungle land was assigned to them to cultivate. Under this severe threat they therefore in general agree to pay the amount of cutnums imposed provided it was not exorbitantly oppressive sooner than had to resign all the fruits of their industry.⁹⁵ The last grievance under the head of cutnums which the peons had to complain of was termed Ghair Cutnum or extraordinary presents which were levied on them every three or four years, on any particular occasion such as the Zamindar's marriage or the marriage of any of his relations, the con-

servation of a pagoda etc. In respect to all these undefined exactions it must be understood that the Amarum and Kattubadi Peons with every description of inhabitants in the Kalahasti Zamindari as in all other Western Pollams suffered equally alike.

The Kattubadi lands in respect to inheritance descended in the same manner as allotments in Amarum villages from father to son, and so on to other degree of affinity in the male line, and in default of heir eschest to the Zamindars. The obligations of the Kuttubadi tenure were also similar to those of Amarum with the distinction that the peons when engaged were bound to serve either with pikes or matchlocks as might be stipulated to be provided at their own expenses. They were bound to do the Kavali duties of the limits assigned to them and make good all thefts within those limits. When detached beyond their limits on any duty or in attendance on the Zamindar they in like manner as the Amarum Peons were entitled to the same rate of batta. It is also understood by all Amarum and Kattubadi peons that when they any way particularly distinguish themselves in battle that they will be handsomely rewarded. The Zamindar entertained 5,031 military dependants of which number the Amerum and Kattubadi peons comprised 301 and 112 respectively.⁹⁶

Previous to the division of the gross produce between the ryot who cultivates the land and the peon, several deductions were usual on account of fees both on cutting the crop and on measuring the grain. These deductions or fees varied in every village from 10 to 15 per cent, on the gross produce of both Punja and Nanja. Under all these circumstances calculating on the produce of these several allotments of land which was estimated at a reasonable valuation, the net amount derived by the peons on the largest allotment amounted to 8 star pagodas 64.16th annas annually and on the smallest to 3 star pagodas 44 16th annas after deducting all charges of cultivation etc.⁹⁷ Were the Zamindars however to dispossess this class of peons it would have materially altered their conditions and probably reduced many industrious families to want. Mr. Stratton says that "The Amerum and Kattubadi peons may be ranked in the productive class of inhabitants from its being their interest to cultivate to their utmost the lands assigned to them, and when the police duties they were bound to perform within their respective limits were punctually executed by the security and protection they afforded they prove of essential advantage to the general interests of the community".⁹⁸ But the preceding pages show that this feudal system was oppressive to the ryots and

needs to be abolished which the British did immediately after they took over the territory in 1801.

III

In these circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine the plight of the ordinary peasants. The system of revenue and payments discussed above simplified the process of revenue and administrative system, but it weighed heavily on the slender resources of the peasants. The methods of revenue collection either by the Zamindar through his agents or by the peons to whom payments were made through Tuncas, as we have already noticed, were most oppressive. From the above details it is clear that the sole objective of the Kalahasti Zamindars was to squeeze the maximum amount out of the peasants by every conceivable method of blackmail and intimidation. This is evident from the methods of selling the ploughs and effects and absconding adopted by the ryots during the periods of unbearable oppression either by the Zamindars or by his peons. The officials of the Zamin-daries were often guilty of corruption and great brutality if a peon has got a Tunca for his payments he used to wait in a body on the person to whom it refers and during their importunities for payment exact from his batta at the rate of one seer of rice and one piece daily per man. In this manner the renter or ryots means were exhausted. The impatience of the peons increases as their batta was discontinued, till atleast irritated by despair they plunder the poor unhappy man's effects sell his house and in this manner reduce him and his family to want.⁹⁹ Apart from this kind of oppression he had to pay a number of taxes which he was unable to pay due to poor yielding. It is to be noted that the lands in the Kalahasti Zamindari were not fertile, most of them were sand and stone mixed ones. Moreover there was no proper irrigation facilities like tanks, canals, wells and rivers. Only a few areas like Seetampuram had a somewhat good irrigation facilities and in all other areas there were not a few good wells and tanks.¹⁰⁰ All these factors made him difficult to thrive and with the addition of all the above taxes and oppressions he in fact was living in a precarious condition, not able to meet even hand and mouth. Under these distressing conditions, the helpless peasants as said already, generally resorted to migrating to adjacent territories¹⁰¹ where they hoped they would live under more tolerable rulers and less oppressive feudal lords. This was in practice not only in Kalahasti Zamindari during the 18th century, but even in the entire Vijayanagar empire of previous centuries. While this practice of migrating to

adjacent territories in Kalahasti Zamindari is evident from Mr. Stratton's report of 14th December 1800, the same in the Vijayanagar empire of the previous centuries is clear from the following observation of B.A. Saltore.

"There are inscriptions which refer to in unmistakable terms to the heavy taxation and the consequent migration of the people from their own provinces to the neighbouring districts because of their inability to pay the taxes. The threats which the people made on such occasions of calling a sort of general strike or of deserting their homes were followed by a revenue enquiry by the state the results of which were generally accepted by the subjects with satisfaction."¹⁰²

Under conditions of oppression agricultural production could not have registered any notable progress. There appears no proper check against oppression, since the Zamindars themselves were collecting as much as possible from the ryots and others. Though there was a sort of check or atleast a caution against oppression during the Vijayanagara period. "This was absent in the subsequent period till the British established their hold on Andhra".¹⁰³ The peasant community thus became the bearer of the entire burden of oppression. Under the Muslim rule, which followed the disruption of the Vijayanagar, the condition of the peasant was even worse. The high pitch of the revenue demand and lack of irrigation sources had driven the peasants from their lands. Production declined since the peasants had no surplus left to invest in agricultural operation. The threat of mass desertion from the countryside was, as usual, the only check on tyranny even at the end of the 18th century.

The oppression of ryots under the above system of revenue and payments in the Kalahasti Zamindari from the middle of the eighteenth century till the early days of the establishment of British authority in that region was unbearable. During the period of Damerla Venkatappa or Venkatapati Naid and Timma Naid who ruled it from 1745 to 1795 and from 1795 to 1803 respectively the people in general and ryots in particular suffered heavily. The former's help and participation, with a view to expand and consolidate his Zamindari, in the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan, in the Carnatic Wars between Mohammad Ali and Chanda Saheb and in the Mysore Wars between the British and the rulers of Mysore Hyder and Tipu ruined the Zamindari.¹⁰⁴ As a result of his liberal help for and participation in all those wars he had to spend a large amount of money which he

could get only by taxing people heavily not only on the existing items but also by creating new ones as we have seen in the preceding pages. Apart from the expenses for these wars the Zamindars required money for personal, administrative and other expenses. For all these expenses the money came from the people in general and the ryots in particular, the latter being the principal tax-paying class. This is how the ryot in the Zamindari lived under a system of oppression and tyranny. It was in this situation that the British after closely watching the feudal kingdoms secured control in 1801 from the Carnatic Nawab over large areas which included also the Zamindari of Kalahasti which a year later was brought under the rules of the Permanent Settlement. By the permanent settlement the Zamindar of Kalahasti was transferred from the class of a feudatory to that of aristocracy of the land enjoying protection of Government from all dangers, the protection which was guaranteed to its subjects in general.¹⁰⁵ Thus the age old "Indian Feudalism" which "remained fiscal and military in character"¹⁰⁶ ended and that of the aristocracy began.

The plight of the peasants of the Carnatic dominions, assigned to the English and Indian money lenders has been described as follows : "The whole of the Carnatic resembled an eggshell with its contents taken out. The fields and villages of Southern India were converted into a vast farm and the tilled and the labourers in order that all the value of the produce might be annually exported to Europe".¹⁰⁷

Writing about the condition of the ryots in the North Arcot in which Kalahasti Zamindari was a part, Arthur Cox, the author of the district Manual says that :

"No exact account can be given of the life and surroundings of the people during the eighteenth century, but it is plain on general considerations that for the vast majority of the population – for all the farmers and labourers and for most of the traders and artisans – the struggle for existence must have been a very hard one. For North Arcot was the very cockpit of Southern India, the constant scene of battles and sieges, invasions and raids. The French and the English, contending Subahdars of the Deccan, rival Nawabs of the Carnatic, Maratha horse-men and invaders from Mysore, were constantly passing and re-passing through the district, while even then these were absent the oppression and exactions of the local poligars, always heavy, but particularly so in those years of turbulence, left the pea-

sant but little of his produce and frequently deprived him of life itself. Sometimes the whole crop was taken, and the cultivators were seldom allowed to retain more than from one to three parts out of ten instead of the usual four or five. Their share, in fact, was often only 'what they could conceal or take away with', to quote the words of the Stratton, the first Collector. The establishment of the British Power and the reduction of the poligars produced considerable improvement, but owing to a variety of causes..... the condition of the ryot still left much to be desired, and even so as late as 1853, Mr. Bourdillon gave a far from favourable picture of the Madras ryot and labourer, which must have been largely drawn from his experience of North Arcot".¹⁰⁸

That the condition of the ryot who paid various taxes in the Madras Presidency was far from favourable condition is evident even from the poet Sri Chilakamarti's following poem.¹⁰⁹ This was written in 1895.

సీ॥ నేలదున్నదమన్న జాలతరము వన్ను
 నీరుగావలెనన్న నీటివన్ను
 వాణిజ్యమొనరింప వచ్చుబదికి వన్ను
 నరుకు లమ్ముదమన్న సంతవన్ను
 కర్రలమ్ముదమన్నఁ గలవ కింకొకవన్ను
 పట్టణంబుల మునిసిపాలు వన్ను
 పారిపోవుదమన్న ఐండి హాసీల్ వన్ను
 కొంపమ్ముకొన్నచో స్థాంపు వన్ను

తే. గీ॥ ఉన్నమట్టుకు తినకుండ ఉప్పు వన్ను
 ననెడు వన్ను లెగదీసె జనులనెల్ల
 కటకటా యెట్టు లున్నదో కాలపుదశ
 సుగుణ ధనులార జనులార చూడరయ్య

From the above poem we come to know that even during the British rule of Andhra (which included Kalahasti Zamindari also) the people were oppressed by the Government by imposing and raising taxes on land, water, trade, business, timber, vehicles, salt and also taxes like stamp tax, municipal tax and others. The author expresses the sufferings of people in Andhradesa.

REFERENCES

1. This paper is a part of the book entitled "The Agrarian System of Chittoor District 1745-1803" which is on the verge of completion by the same author.
2. Sundarararaja Iyengar, *Land Tenures in Madras Presidency*, Madras 1916, Students's Edition, 1933, P. 106.
3. *Fifth Report*, Vol. II, 1812, P.7, Sundararaja Iyengar, P. 106.
4. The Zamindars were of very various origin. Some of them were the descendants of ancient sovereigns or chiefs, holding the territories assigned to them on condition of paying tribute and rendering military services. Others were revenue officers and farmers of revenue employed by the Hindu and Mohammadan Governments, who had acquired power and influence which led to their being recognized as Zamindars. Others, again, were originally heads of villages or ryots or even Kavalgars, talaries or watchmen who had collected round them armed bands of robbers and levied blackmail from the surrounding villages, and by the assistance rendered to sovereigns during troublous times got themselves recognised as poligars who later become Zamindars or Rajas. It is to be noted that though the Zamindars of Kalahasti were not descendants of ancient sovereigns they served in all other ways and took their origin from those capacities. Before the British took over Kalahasti in 1801, they were in general called poligars and only after the permanent settlement they were called Zamindars. But they used to call them, like all other

rulers of India as Rajas and even at times, though rarely, as Zamindars. The following extract from the Fifth Report gives us a clear idea about the origin and categories of the Zamindars.

“The Zamindary lands are situated in the hill country of the Western frontier and in the plain between the hills and the sea. The hill Zamindars, secure in the woody and unwholesome heights which they inhabited and encouraged by the hope of an eventual asylum in the dominion of the Nizam, or of the Raja and Berar, had often furnished examples of unsuccessful degradation and unpunished revolt. They were surrounded by military tenants, whose lands were held, on stipulation of personal service; and whose attachment to their chiefs was increased by the bond of family connection. The Zamindars consisted of three classes; first, the velamas, of Telinga Origin, who were driven from the Carnatic in 1652, by the Mohammadan arms and who established themselves on the borders of the Kistna. Second, the Rachawars, of the race of the ancient sovereigns of Orissa who were also compelled by the Mohammadans to relinquish the Pollams of the Circar, and retired to the height and woods, that formed the western frontier. Their possession were principally situated to the north of the Godavary. Third, the Wooriars, being petty chieftains of the military tribe, who after the overthrow of the empire of Orissa by Mohammadans, were enabled, from this local situation, to acquire an independent jurisdiction. Their possessions are chiefly situated in the high lands in the northern division of Chicacole.

The Zamindars in the Plains could boast of no higher extraction than being descended from the officers and revenue agents of the sovereigns of Orissa, who were employed by the Mussalman conquerors, in the management of their new acquisitions and who appear to have first acquired lands and influence after the conquest of Aurangzeb and during the distracted administration of his children”. (*Fifth Report*, P.5).

5. Sundararaja Iyengar, P. 106.

6. In 1769 on the establishment of British East Indian Company in the management of the Northern Circars, the Zamindaries were described by the Presidency of Fort St. George as “lands held by certain Raiahs or chiefs, as their hereditary estates, paying a

certain tribute to the government and being subject to suit and service, in a manner very similar to the ancient feudal tenures" (*General Letter from Fort St. George, 8th March 1769, cited in the Fifth Report p. 7*).

7. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707)*, 1963, P. 159.
8. The sanads of the Zamindars of Kalahasti show the nature of the tenure on which they hold their respective lands. Some of their sanads generally express the condition of military service and others confer on them particular dignities by which they are found to attend the summons of the Sirkar with the number of men attached to their respective rank. The substance of the sanads acquired by Mr. Stratton, the Collector of North Arcot, was as follows.

1) Cowle dated, *6th Ruzab in the year 1050*, but under whose seal not known, addressed to Damerla Veukatapati Naid confirming the former cowle of the emperor Mir Jumla.

2) Inayatnama under the seal of Sultana Abdul Kasim Mohammad Humayee Baksh, dated the 24th Rujub in the 37th yaer of his reign addressed to Damarla Akapa Naid conferring to him his former Jagirs and conforming on him the title of Bahadur etc.

3) Copy of a sanad under the seal of Aurangazeb without date conferring on Venkatapati Naid, the district of Venkatagiri, Rapoor, Kalahasti, Tondamanad, Kusba of Nellore and his former possessions in the district of Wandiwash and promissing on his waiting on him to present him in inam 20,000 pagodas etc.

4) A copy of a farman under the seal of Aurangazeb, dated 2nd Rubee-ul-avul in the 30th year of his reign addressed to the Kalahasti Zamindar in acknowledgement of his various services and requiring him to afford Mauzam Khan and other Ameers who were sent to take possession of Bijapur, every assistance in his power. And also to assist Shah Beg Khan who was sent with an army to reinforce Kasi Mohammad Hashim in order to quiet the disturbances in his neighbourhood and to put down Rayalu.

5) Copy of a Parwana under the seal of Assad Khan, Wazier of Alamghir, dated 21st Rubee-o-sani in the 35th year of his reign addressed to Akkappa Naid informing him that agreeable to the request preferred by his Vakeel requiring Cowle etc., he would, on waiting on him, have the dignity, he solicits, of 4000 'raut' conferred on him etc.

6) Copy of a firman under the seal of Aurangazeb, dated 6th Mohurru in Hijri 1069, addressed to Damarlawar, detailing his several victories and requiring of him every requisite service etc.

7) Copy of a Tujdeviznama under the seal of Asof Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk dated 23rd Zehudji in the 26th year of the reign of emperor Mohammad Shah conferring on Venkatapati Naid the dignity of 2000 raut and 1000 horse, on Kumara Venkatappa Naid 500 raut and 200 horse and on Akup Naid 500 raut and 150 horse.

8) Copy of a Parwana under the seal of Nawab Anwar-ud-din dated 15th Ramzan in the first year of the reign of Emperor Ahmad Shah Bahadur, conferring on Venkatappa Naid etc., 1,11,70,140 'dams' of the collections of the pargana of "Oodgheer" etc., the particulars of which were expressed on the back of the parwana.

9) Copy of a parwana under the seal of Anwar-ud-din dated the 1st Hijri 1177, conferring Jagir on Kumara Venkatappa Naid the taluks of Kalahasti, Nirpak, Palchool, Polacoor etc., under the Sirkar of Chendragiri and fixing the yearly peshkush for the taluk of Seetaramapuram under the Sirkar of "Godgheer" at 15,000 Arcot rupees and for the villages of Aravumla etc. at 1500 Madras Pagodas independent of inams etc. This parwana further exacts military service etc., from the Zamindar in aid of the Sirkar agreeable to the tenor of his Muchilka as written on the back of the parwana.

10) Copy of a parwana under the seal of the Nawab Wallaja etc., dated 21st Ruzub in Hijri 1890 conferring the taluks of Eagwaw, Pamunchawar, Alwar, and the village of Mudoor under the taluk of Setwele, Saib Naid Pollam, Modapa Naid, Lokachari Pollam and Tumbachari under the hill poligars of the yearly juma of 10,000 pagodas on Kumara Venkata Naid etc., for the

pay and service of 1,000 matchlock and pike peons agreeable to the tenor of his Muchilka as written on the back of the Parwana.

11) Cowle of Sir Charles Oakely, Governor-in-Council of Fort Saint George, to Kumara Venkatapati Naid.

12) Copy of an Inayatnama under the seal of Siraj-ud-daula dated 4th Shaval in Hijri 1178, directing the Zamindar of Kalahasti to station some of his peons at Pamenchewar.

13) Copy of an Inayatnama under the seal of Wallaja dated 12th Zehudji Hijri 1292, fixing the peshkush of the pollams at 5000 star pagodas in lieu of the service of 2000 peons required by a former parwana and ordering the restoration of the Muroor Pollam to its poligar. (*Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 19th July 1802*).

9. S. Srinivas Raghavaiyengar, *Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last Forty years of British Administration*, 1893, Madras, P. 218.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid, P. 222.
13. Ibid.
14. The Western Pollams comprised of the Zamindaries of Kalahasti, Venkatagiri, Bommaraju and Sydapur. At the time when the British brought these four pollams under their control in 1831 the Poligars (later Zamindars) of these pollams "had exercised an independent jurisdiction and power, wholly incompatible with relative situation as dependents of a regular Government; yet being more under its eye and control than those of the south, they were less disobedient to its authority. When the instructions were issued to Mr. Stratton, respecting the pollams they appear to have been in full possession of them; nor did any circumstances occur, to render the removal of any of them necessary". The British, therefore, settled the peshcush of the poligars on permanent principles and introduced the same internal arrangements which were adopted in the southern pollams. (*Fifth Report, P. 103*).

15. The Zamindars of Rajas of Kalahasti appear to be Kshatriyas and to have belonged to Inagala gotra. Javi Nayadu is said to have been the first man of note. He is reported to have raised the seize of Warangal by Mohammadans in 1112 A. D. The next person of whom traditions speak was named Mada Nayadu. He was an ally to Pratapa Rudra who reigned in the 14th century A.D. and who is said to have conquered Pandyadesa.

Damerlavaru, the Zamindars of Sri Kalahasti were originally free lancers and it was later that they became independent chiefs of small tracts. They were however known to be great soldiers. In the 15th Century A.D. they preferred to be greater in material wealth to an independent position with smaller territories and therefore helped powerful ruling dynasties and acquired territories in Coastal Andhra. Their aid in war used to be counted by several Hindu dynasties for defending themselves against the incursions of Mohammadans. They were invited for this purpose by the Gajapaties and by the Narapaties (to whom, after seeing the beginning of the dismemberment of the Gajapati dynasty and strengthening of Narapaties, they switched their help to the latter) called the Rayas of Vijayanagar. The Damerlavaru proving successful in the wars were granted by the Gajapaties and the Rayas various tracts of country from near the present Karnool district to the Cape Comorin, the Damerlavaru acknowledging themselves to be feudatories to the Rayas; Damerla Venkatappa Nayadu (who invited the British Rayals in to settle in Madras and got for them the sunnad from the Raya) helped the repelling the attack of Golconda rulers and got from him Kalahasti as Jagir with Wandiwash, Gingee etc. But they do not appear to have retained, rather acquired much of these grants. Seeing the emperors of Delhi have been overrunning Southern India, they offered to aid the Moghuls and secure their patronage, as the Rayas were losing ground. In the battle which was fought between Raja Jaswant Singh for the emperor or Dara and Aurangzeb and Murad near Ujjain in November 1657, the Damerlavaru fought for Aurangzeb. In 1666 Damerla Kumara Akapa Nayadu waited upon the emperor and recovered many of the tracts which had been lost by Damerlavaru. He wielded large powers during this period. But in the first quarter of the 18th century there appears to have been many ups and downs in the fortune of Damerlavaru. During the period of struggle between

the French and the British the Damerlavaru helped the British and when Mohammad Ali became the Nawab of Carnatic they established good relations with him till the end.

By the constitution of the Government of Carnatic, Damerlavaru held possession of the Kalahasti Zamindari subject to the payment of an annual peshcush, to the discharge of military service and to the payment of Nuzzers and fines. The amount of the peshcush and the extent of military service were undefined and the amount of the contribution in Nuzzers was determinable according to the pleasure and enforced according to the power of the Nawabs of the Carnatic.

But by the treaty between the British Government and the Nawab of Carnatic it was provided that the dependence of the Zamindari on the latter should cease and should be subjected exclusively to the British Government. From that date the Zamindar continued to pay the customary peshcush free from Nuzzers and all other public charge than that attending the military establishment attached to the conditions of the tenure of the Zamindar. The Zamindar was relieved from the obligation of furnishing troops and military stores for the service of government and of maintaining forts or garrisons in all time to come it committed the military service for an equivalent to be paid in money. The British Government also fixed the annual contributions including equivalent for military service and the established peshcush for ever at the sum of star pagodas 54,398 which shall never be changed. Diwan Bahadur R. Raghavendar Rao, *A Brief History of Kalahasti Zamindari* (the page showing the author, publisher, year and place is not there in the book but the author's name is mentioned in the catalogue of the Archives), Ref. No. of the book : A.B.H. IX; Vol. No. 240 (505), Tamilnadu Archives, PP. 1, 2, 14, 16 and 19). Of the above total amount the equivalent for military service exclusively of sugar, salt and spirituous liquors was : 6 p.

Former peshcush was : S.P.

43,623

10,775

Total : 54,398

J. Hodgson, Secretary of the Special Commission, to the Collector of Western Peshcush, 25th August, 1802.

The Zamindar also promised to enter into written engagements with ryots either for a rent in money or in kind, clearly defining the amount to be paid to him by ryots individually. After this transfer he also promised to conduct himself with good faith towards ryots and to treat them with tenderness, encourage them to improve and extend cultivation of land. By the British proclamation of introducing the permanent settlement the Zamindar was transferred from the class of feudatory to that of aristocracy of the land enjoying protection of Government from all dangers, the protection which was guaranteed to its subjects in general. (Kumara Timmapa Naid (Zamindar of Kalahasti) *Kabuliat or Instrument of Assent and Agreement to the Sunnud-i-Milkiyat Istimrar* (24-8-1802) or *Deed of Permanent Property* granted to him by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort Saint George, 2nd September 1802).

16. S. Srinivas Raghaviyaingar, P. 222.
17. Ibid: P. 223.
18. The several districts dependent on the Kalahasti Zamindar (by 1801) consisted of (1) Kalahasti Zamindari which was divided into 2 Maghans, namely Kasbah or Kalahasti Maghan, Veeraragavapuram, Yesvarapoor, Chembadu, Venkatapuram, Accoortie, Tondimanad, Kunnellee and Katoor (2) the four pollams named Tripurantikapuram, Kullavat, Muttum and Loakee (3) the Kota or new pollams, so called by way of distinction from those just enumerated from having been more recently attached to the Kalahasti Zamindari, consisting of Saib Naid, Modeppa Naid, Lokachary, Tumbachary and Eaegauvaury pollams, and (4) the Purgana of Seetharampuram, to the northward adjoining the Kummum.

As regards the four pollams mentioned namely the Tripurantikapuram Kullavat, Muttum and Loakee they were at different periods assumed by the Zamindar Venkatapathi Naid during the series of 50 years (1745-1795) that he remained in charge of the Kalahasti Zamindari. The original number of pollams thus assumed amounted to nine some of which were incorporated by him with the Kalahasti Zamindari or other pollams and the names of others charged as appears by the following list.

Original Pollams	Later called	Incorporated in
Pamunjeewar	Tripuranticapuram	
Alwar	Kullavat	
Muttum	Muttum	
Nagattoor		
Chinnapa Naid		Loaku Pollam
Rangapa Naid		
Gollapalli		Eaegauwary Pollam
Gundari		Yesvarapoor Magham
Kalavagunta		Veeraraghavapuram Magham

Independent of these pollams, nine other pollams were assumed in 1777 of which four farming part of the Kota or new pollams under Kalahasti viz. Saib Naid, Modappa Naid, Lokachery and Tumbachari were made over to the Kalahasti Zamindar, four in rent to Bommaraju viz. Moortiraju pollam, Chanipollam, Balanaini and Kistnapa Naid Pollam, and one named Vellor Pollam to the Nabob's Naid at Arcot, Raja Beerbar, who in conjunction with Venkatapati Naid and the Bommaraju Zamindar reduced these nine Pollams by his Highness order in consequence of the refractory conduct of the former poligar. The Eaegaucoory poligar was at the same time ejected for having assisted those poligars in their rebellion, and pollam attached by the Nawab to the Kalahasti Zamindar (*Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 14th July, 1801*).

By the end of the 19th century Kalahasti Zamindari was bounded by Nellore district in the north, Chengalput district in the east, Karvetinagar Zamindari in the south and Chendragiri taluks in the west. Then it possessed an area of 1151 square miles. According to the census of 1891 it had a population of 2,40,000. It consisted of two divisions viz., the northern and the southern. The northern was called Pamoor and was bounded by Venkatagiri and Chundi Zamindars on the north, Kandukur and Kavali taluks of Nellore district in the east, Atmakur taluk of the same district in the south and the range of hills separating the district of Cuddapah on the west. Its villages were scattered in five taluks of Nellore district thus :— In Atmakur 9 villages; in

Kavali 24; in Udayagiri 97, in Kandukur 7, and in Kanigiri 64, making a total of 201 villages, covering about 415 square miles, containing a population of about 1,00,000.

The southern division contained 2 taluks viz. Kalahasti and Kachchinadu or Madarapaka and was bounded on the north by Venkatagiri Zamindari on the east by a part of the same Zamindari and a part of Chengalput district; on the south by Tiruvallur taluk of the same district and the Narayanavanam division of Karvetinagar Zamindari, and on the west by a chain Yerpedu hills separating it from Cuddapah, Chendragiri taluk and Karvetinagar. The extent of this division was 736 square miles. Its population according to the census of 1891 was 1,40,000 while the entire Zamindari had a population of 2,40,000. The Kalahasti taluk of this division was in Chittoor district, while Kachinadu taluk was in Chengalput district.

Of the 612 villages in this Zamindari 285 were inam villages. These villages covered an area of 540,000 acres, of which, according to the census of 1891, only 300,000 acres were under cultivation and the rest, though a greater part of it was cultivable land, was left uncultivated due to the failure of monsoon. (Putragunta Guruswamayya (late Acting Deputy Tahsildar and sub-magistrate, Kalahasti) *Sri Kalahasti Charitramu* (in Telugu), 1894, Madras, pp.4 and 5.)

19. It means "A writing of assurance, agreement or engagement as granted by government to the cultivator of the soil". "An agreement between a landlord and a ryot who till the land of the lord that he (ryot) would pay the amount or give the share of the produce as accepted at the time of the agreement". (Dr. Subrahmanyam Reddy, *Aspect of the British Revenue Settlements and Revolt of the Poligars of Carnatic with special reference to Chittoor Pollams 1803-05*, (A part of the author's thesis) (awaiting publication), References, No. 112.
23. George Stratton's *Report on the Western Pollams to the Board of Revenue, July 14, 1801*.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.
25. "Until the time of the Vijayanagara rule, village lands were owned by the village community which were subject to periodical redistribution among the cultivators based on the custom that no one should have a monopoly of the fertile lands. That the village was a settlement of peasants and the village assembly, an association of landlords, which redistributed their lands periodically, is evident from inscriptions. There is evidence of individual proprietorship of land along with communal ownership in certain areas. Alienation by sale or gift was done with the consent of the community. The custom of redistribution, however, contained to be the recognized form of land relations in the village community throughout the Kakatiya (1000-1323 A.D.), the Reddy (1324-1424 A.D.) and the Vijayanagar (1336-1565 A.D.) rule, and down to the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Telugu Districts". (M. Pattabhirama Reddy, *The Agrarian System in Andhra Pradesh 1757-1857* part I, (unpublished project work submitted to the I.C.H.R.), Kavali 1978, pp.11-12).
26. Stratton's *Report of the Western Pollams...*
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. The crops usually raised in the Kalahasti Zamindari were paddy, sugarcane, groundnut, sajja or holcus spicatus, jonna or maize, ragi or natcherry, sosamum, green gram or pulse, red gram, black gram, indigo, castor oil seed crop and Korra. The "tamalapaku" leaves were planted in Aradalamitta, Puttur, Vurandur, Guntakindapalli, Pallam, Akkurti, Pallamala and Kothapalyam of Kalahasti taluk, Perandur of Katchchinadu taluk of Vinjamur of Pamur taluk. The following were the seasons of raising crops.

Kind of crop	Name of the crop	Season for raising crops	Seasons for harvesting crops.
Nanja	1. Samba, Pishanamu	August-September	January-February
	2. Eswara Kora or Hanuman-takora.	September-October	February-March
	3. Neerusambakesari	December-January	March-April
	4. Nallavari (black paddy)	March-April	June-July
Punja	1. Ragi, Alasandu	July - August	November-December
	2. Sajja	June	August
	3. Panchchapesalu (green gram)	October-November	January-February

The lands on which the above crops planted were in general of red soil comprising mostly of sand and stones. Only the land under Swarnamukhi and Talleru rivers and in the southern region of Kachchinadu taluk were fertile lands because of the availability of water for raising crops. (Putragunta Guruswamayya, PP.5, 9 and 10).

32. In Kalahasti Zamindari Swarnamukhi, Kallanginadi and Arunanadi (Narayanavanameru) were the chief rivers. Having its birth near Adenapalli village of Chittoor taluk the Swarnamukhi river turns, at first, towards the north, then enters the Chendragiri taluk and later flows below the Tirupati hills towards east upto Kalahasti and finally penetrating a little distance in Nellore district enters the bay of Beugal. It had a length of 78 miles in Chittoor district and 21 miles in Nellore district with Kalyaninadi and Bhimanadi as its tributaries. As far as the river Kalingi is concerned, taking its birth in the hills towards the south of Kalahasti and flowing towards the north-east for about 25 miles and then flowing towards the south-east it later joins Pralaya-kaveri lake. The Aruna river flows in the southern side of the Zamindari. Apart from these rivers there were other rivers in

the Zamindari namely Ralleru, Goddaru and Valagalamanda (Putragunda Guruswamayya, PP. 8-9).

33. The source of water for raising and watering crops in this Zamindari were mainly the tanks. There were only a few larger tanks in this Zamindari and all others were small and unless, as a result of which the cropping covered only a few acres. According to the census of 1891 only 300,000 acres out of 540,000 acres of cultivable land was cultivated in the Kalahasti Zamindari due to lack of water in most of the tanks and failure of monsoon. The tanks of Tondamandu, Ghembedu, Kasaram, Peddakannali, Akkurti, Punabaka, Vuranduru, Palachchuru, Gajulapennaluru, Manganellooru of Kalahasti taluk and the tanks of Seetharampuram, Kommi, Lingasamudram, Pamuru of the Pamur taluk were of larger size in the Zamindari (Ibid, pp. 5 and 9).
34. Except in the southern part of the Madarapaka area of the Zamindari the tanks in all other parts of the Kalahasti Zaminnari were very few. (Ibid, p. 5).
35. George Stratton's *Report on the Western Pollams to the Board of Revenue, July 14, 1801*.
36. This word has been entered in the manuscript as Jorce and being apparently a mistake in the copying has been corrected, in the above report, while printing.
37. B. S. Baliga, *Studies in Madras Administration*, Vol. 1, 1960, Madras, P. 136.
38. *Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 14th, July 1801*.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. *Decrees of the Sadar Adalat, 1805-1826*, PP. 179 to 186.
42. B. S. Baliga, P. 140.
43. Ibid, P. 141.
44. In the Kalahasti Zamindari the grain and land measurements were as follows :

Grain measurement in the Zamindari except in Seetharamapuram.

1 Madras pagoda in weight	:	1 Pullam
17 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pullam	:	1 Sola
2 Sola	:	1 Towa
2 Towa	:	1 Addah
2 Addah	:	1 Mnntah or Mana
4 Muntas	:	1 Kuncha
4 Kuncha	:	1 Toomu
20 Toomus	:	1 Kandi

Grain measurement in Seetaramapuram.

9 Madras Pagodas in weight	:	1 Pullam
8 Pullams	:	1 Kuncna Seer
9 Kuncha Seer	:	1 Munta or Mana
6 Muntas	:	1 Toomu
20 Toomus	:	1 Candi

Land Measurement in the Zamindari except in Seetharamapuram.

72 Men's square feet	:	1 Gunta
40 Guntas	:	1 Ghurru

Land Measurement in Seetharamapuram.

74 Men's square feet	:	1 Gunta
50 Guntas	:	1 Ghurru

(Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 14th July 1801).

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. "Anchanadars are persons employed in revenue to estimate the quantity of a field of grain, about the time when it is nearly fit for cutting, on which estimate the amount of revenue is frequently calculated". "A surveyor, appraiser" (William Brown, *A Vocabulary of Gentoo and English*, Madras 1818, Kottapalli Subba Ramayya, second edition, 1958, cited by Bangorey P. 103). The Anchanadar's anchanas (estimates) were of two types : (1) Niluvu Anchana meaning estimate of the produce of a field after the crop is gathered but before it is measured (H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, London, 1855, cited by Bangorey, P. 103). The revenue officials in those days, had to send the estimates of every field of crop before it was cut, to the authority.

The "anchana lists should be submitted. Even if a single mistake should arise in the estimate of probable yield or in harvesting operations, you will be personally held responsible". (*Hukum-namas* (1801-2) *and papers relating to Sriharikota Yanadis* (1846-1882) : Selections from the records of the Nellore Collectorate, Nellore, 1919, p. 6, cited by Bangorey). This is how there was very strictness in preparing anchana of a crop in a field. In those days the ryots, especially in the Zamindari tracts, should not cut their crop until the anchanadar made an estimate of it, even if they had cut the crop on his approval, the ryot had to apportion the crop between him and Government only in his presence.

48. *Strarton to the Board of Revenue, 14th July, 1801.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. Damerla Kumara Venkatapati or Venkatappa Naid was the Zamindar of Kalahasti for 50 years from 1745 to 1795. It was during his period a new chapter began in the relations between the Kalahasti Zamindari and the British. He created an eventful period, at times acknowledging the suzerainty of the Mughal emperors through the Nawabs of Arcot and at other times defying it. Being a very shrewed chief he tried the French, the Marathas, Hyder and his own brother chiefs and found in them wanting in several respects to be his suzerain. He eventually adhered to the British whom he helped to the date of his death. He consolidated the estate of Kalahasti and recovered tracts which had been lost by his predecessors. He helped and sent forces to Ujjain in order to secure victory for Aurangazeb during the war of succession. He did the same in the case of Mohammad Ali during the Carnatic Wars and also of the British during the Mysore Wars. As a result of his liberal help for and participation in all these wars he had to spend a large amount of money which he could get only by taxing the people very heavily not only the existing items but also by creating new ones. This is how the ryots who were the principal tax payers were oppressed during his period as well as his successor and son Timma Naidu's Period. D. Subrahmanyam Reddy, *Aspects of the British - Kalahasti Zamindari Relations*, (This paper was read at the Andhra Pradesh History

Congress held at Cherala on 6th & 7th of October, 1979).

52. *Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 14th July, 1801.*

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. We find there is a difference between the russooms or money fees collected by the Zamindars in the Western Pollams, including Kalahasti and in the Nizam's dominions. In the latter there were three kinds of russooms namely Zamindari russooms, Manna-vari russooms and Baanunugoyi russooms. The first one for paying to those who were employed for collecting taxes, the second for police who protected villages and the last for those who used to give advices in the Khaanoon (court) were collected in the Nizam's dominions. But in the case of Kalahasti the russooms

were collected only for the purpose of maintaining temples and choultries. (Suravaramu Pratapa Reddy, *Nizamurashtra Paripalanamu* (Telugu), Golkonda Mudraksharasaala, Hyderabad, 1936, P.79.

70. *Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 14th July 1801.*
71. Syed Nurul Hasan, *Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal India*, People's publishing House, 1973, P.1.
72. Ibid.
73. *Stratton's Report on the Western Pollams to the Board of Revenue, 14th December, 1108.*
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. "An agreement given in writing to a landlord by a ryot". "It is a registered cowl agreement given in writing by a ryot to a landlord on the condition that he (ryot) shall pay the agreed amount

- to the landlord whether he cultivates or not" (*Mandalika Vrutti-vyavahara Padakosam : Pradhama Samputam Vyavasaya Padalu* (Telugu) Hyderabad, 1962, quoted by Bangorey in "*Tatacharla Kathalu*" (Telugu), M. Seshachalam & Co., 1974, Madras, 101).
90. Stratton's *Report on Western Pollams to the Board of Revenue, 14th December, 1800.*
 91. Ibid.
 92. Ibid.
 93. Ibid.
 94. While in Kalahasti 40 guntas were allowed to be a ghurru and 76 square feet to a gunta (*Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 14th December, 1800*)., in Seetharamapuram 50 guntas were allowed to be a ghurru and 74 men's square feet to a gunta. In another report Mr. Stratton says that in Kalahasti 72 men's square feet was allowed to be a gunta (*Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 14th July 1801*).
 95. Stratton to the Board of Revenue, *14th December 1800.*
 96. Ibid.
 97. Ibid.
 98. Ibid.
 99. Ibid.
 100. Putragunta Guruswamayya, PP. 5, 8 and 9.
 101. *Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 14th July 1801.*
 102. B. A. Saltore, *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire*, Madras, 1934, Vol. 1, P. 195, *Ep. Report for 1910*, P. 112, quoted by M. Pattabhirama Reddy, P. 29. An inscription of 1533 records the evacuation of all the peasants from the Kavutala village in Anantapur District.
 103. M. Pattabhirama Reddy, P. 31.
 104. D. Subrahmanyam Reddy, *Aspects of the British Kalahasti Zamindari Relations* op. cit.

105. *Sunnud-i-Milkiyat Istimrar* or Deed of Permanent Property granted to Kumara Timmapa Naid (Zamindar of Kalahasti) by the Governor-in-Council of Fort Saint George, 24th August 1802.
106. K. S. Shelvankar, *The Problem of India*, Penguin Books, England, 1943, PP. 77-80, cited by Ramakrishna Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of the East India Company*, Veb Deutscher Verlag Der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1955, P. 91.
107. Ramesh Dutt, *The Economic History of India under British Rule*, 1901, P. 99.
108. Arthur F. Cox, *North Arcot District Manual*, New Edition revised by Harold A. Stuart, Vol. II, Madras, 1894, P. 279.
109. Cited by Digavalli Venkatasiva Rao, *Vismrutandramu-Visalan-dhramu* (Telugu) Vijayawada, 1975, P. 284.

ASPECTS OF BRITISH REVENUE SETTLEMENTS AND REVOLT OF CARNATIC POLIGARS

With special reference to Chittoor Pollams, 1803-1805.

D. SUBRAMANYAM REDDY

The rise of British power and consequent change in India was one of tremendous significance in the economic and political structure of the country. With the opening of the nineteenth century the British rule began to disclose its expansionist tendencies to meet the needs of British capitalist who could not get fat interest on investments at home and needed foreign markets whether in manufacture or trade. "The imposition of a system of maritime mercantilism, which came as a sequel to it, over communities whose economic life had been based on agricultural production, led to profit hunting exploitation of peasants by the protagonists of vested interests."¹ The policy of the Company was to secure the interests of the English bourgeoisie without any corresponding development of the productive forces in India.² The experiences of this grievous impact compelled the exploited classes to adopt postures of fierce resistance to meet the challenge of England. The British encroachment on the Indian customs and institutions and also on the very means of subsistence of the people built up stresses and strains and furnished natural reaction. The idea of domination is inherent in the British rule as we see in any other foreign rule. As a result it imposed some basic hardships on the free development of the people. This aggravated agrarian misery and economic discontent.³ As a result the country was not free either from civil or military disturbances.

It is this aspect of British Indian History which is the subject of my paper with special reference to the discontent and local resistance of "Chittoor Pollams" in the formative stages of European ascendancy.

In South India, during the last decade of the 18th Century and

first half of the 19th century, the civilian revolts were prominently led by the Poligars, their descendants and relations. In Andhra Pradesh the Poligars of Chittoor Pollams¹ revolted between 1803-1805. The "Chittoor Pollams" were a part of North Arcot district of the Carnatic Nawab. Now the area which was called "Chittoor Pollams" is a part of the Chittoor District. Here there were 10 (ten) Pollams each under a poligar when the British brought these areas under their control in 1801. They were : Bangari, Mogarala, Pakala, Puttur, Kalloor, Pulicherla, Cadipati, Tumba, Naraganti and Yedarakonda Pollams, the Poligars of which Pollams were Chendrasekar Naid, Chennapa Naid, Seshama Naid, Kumar Raghunath Naid, Rangapathi Raju. Timmapa Naidu, Seshama Naid, Malla Naid, Anantappa Naid and Mudooramappa Naid respectively. Though the nature of the revolt of the Chittoor Poligars marks no much distinction from that of the revolts in other areas of South India, this has deep rooted causes of Political, Social and economic character and comprised larger canvas where the economic interest of the higher and lower classes of inamaddars were at stake and the other categories of people also were denied of livelihood and benefits.

The Poligars of South India, in general, seem to have been of different status and origin in different parts.⁵ We here of them chiefly in the ceded Districts, the Western Pollams, the Southern Pollams and Chittoor Pollams. They were originally descendents of ancient Rajas, High officers under Hindu Rajas, headmen of villages, revenue officers and officers of Police.⁶ Their sanads bore internal evidence of their dependence on the emperor and of their subjection to the subadar of Carnatic to whom they yielded tribute and whose camp they were bound to attend whenever summoned.⁷ They were allowed to mint their coins which had "molyakaram" (value) at all places.⁸

The Chittoor Poligars were originally appointed Kavalgars to superintend the police arrangements of these districts (Chittoor Pollams) in the middle of the 15th century by one of the Rayals of Penugonda, who about that time settled at Chendranagherry for this purpose.⁹ In respect to the line of succession the Poligars of Chittoor generally conformed to the laws prescribed by the Hindu Law though some instances of deviation occur.¹⁰ Apart from male succession there were also female succession¹¹ here. In consideration of the above service they had some villages conferred on them by the Vijayanagar rulers in inam and were besides empowered to collect kavali fees; denominated "neetah" or fixed kavali, which they levied on the

Sirkar villages on the principle of "Bilmuctah" assessments¹² (a fixed quit rent) for the support of the peons. As long as the authority of the Vijayanagar Kingdom unopposed the object of their institution was fairly fulfilled, but after the battle of Talikota, the general condition of anarchy which prevailed in these parts tempted these kavalgars to aim at independence. Assuming the title of the poligar, they seized upon the whole of the villages within their respective ranges, and discontinued the payment of quit rent on these they had hitherto held as inam. During the struggles for pre-eminence between the Hindu and Muslim powers which ended in the subjection of the former; these kavalgars took advantage of the disturbances which prevailed to establish their independence. This they effected in two ways, viz., firstly by taking possession of several sirkar villages by force and secondly by declaring all acknowledgement for others which they had formerly held on rent.¹³

In this manner were their pollams originally formed, founded in usurpation and subject to no regular control. As the spirit of encroachment extended its influence they commenced levying further kavali fees on the rest of the Sirkar villages denominated "Cobah"¹⁴ or additional kavali. The defenceless inhabitants were obliged to pay it since they knew the collection would otherwise be exacted from them by force without its being in the power of the Government to afford them any redress.

These Kavalgars who had risen to the rank of poligars triumphed over weakness of the Government. The first instance of their being brought under any regular subjection was during the administration of Ghulam Mohammad, the Bukshee of Tyre Mohammad Khan who was sent to this quarter about 100 years before the British acquisition of this territory with a small army to restrain the irregularities of the Poligars which had then risen to an alarming height.¹⁵ Ghulam Mohammad caught the Bungari and Mogarala Poligars, and put them to a cruel and ignominious death for heading the insurgents.¹⁶ The rest of the Poligars, who terror struck submitted. Ghulam Mohammad restored the Mogarala and Bangari Pollams to the sons of the deceased poligars and exacted from them and the other Poligars an annual peshcush amounting to 40,000 pulleput pagodas. This was the first instance of any peshcush being levied from these poligars,¹⁷ and which they continued to pay so long as the Government was strong.

During the last 30 years of the Nawab's rule which was a period marked for weakness and inconsistent policy the Chittoor Poligars seized every opportunity of attaining independence-by extending their possessions-withholding payment of their tribute-and resisting in open warfare the authority and power of the Nawab. "The late Government (Nawab's Government) in general found itself necessitated to compound matter with the poligars or to barter its power for a fine which it could not exact...."¹⁸ During the administration of Dost Ali Khan the peshcush of the Poligars was reduced from 40,000 pulleput pagodas to half that amount besides an annual remission of 915 pagodas,¹⁹ due to the above state of affairs. Notwithstanding it, the Poligars fell in arrears. During the struggles between Chanda Sahib and Mohammad Ali for the Carnatic they took advantage of it to acquire their former influence by refusing for some years to pay any peshcush.²⁰ Affairs continued in this train until that period of Wallaja's administration when resolving to bring back the poligars to submission, he committed it to his younger brother Abdul Wahab by conferring on him the "Chittoor and Chendragiri districts" in Jagir. He stationed 200 horses 400 regular infantry and 600 peons with him to force the Collections.²¹ The peshcush and Nuzzers then settled by Wawab amounted to 30,560 pullepet pagodas²² But he "appears to have had small success in enforcing obedience and only collected such inadequate sums as the poligars chose occasionally to pay."²³ when he was dispossessed of Chendragiri and made a prisoner by Hyder they relapsed once more into their irregular ways.

The Collections made by Hyder from the Chittoor Poligars during that destructive war amounted to about one year's peshcush and Nuzzers. On the return of Wahab after the peace, he was induced on the representation of the poligars of the losses they had sustained to remit the annual payment of their nuzzers once every other year. He also reduced the Bungari and Mogarala Poligar's Nuzzars to half the former amount as also the latter's peshcush etc.²⁴ Even after remitting the annual nuzzers they became more irregular than ever in the discharge of their tribute. Moreover owing to the weakness of the Government they reversed the object of their original institution and from Kavalgars became the plunderers of the country.²⁵

It was in this disordered state these districts in 1801 were transferred (from Nawab) to the charge of Mr. Stratton (the first

Collector of North Arcot) who took measures for restoring security of property and an efficient police. Before discussing the measures taken by Mr. Stratton regarding the tribute it is better to know about the state of balances of peshcush and nuzzers, military dependents called peons and the circumstances under which the Pollams were brought under British authority. The balances of peshcush and nuzzers due by the poligars when Mr. Stratton took charge as Collector were (on account of old balances which had been many years accumulating) pulleput pagoodas 28,837 12/16 or star Pagodas²⁶ 21,628 5/16 and on account of fuslies 1209 (1799–1800) and 1210 (1800–1801) pulleput pagodas 15,726 or Star pagodas 11,794 7 12/6.²⁷ The number of peons under them amounted to – Amerum peons 558, Kattubadi peons 4328 – 4886.²⁸ The peons enjoyed lands from Poligars for military services. The Poligars by entertaining these peons defied the Nawab in the case of peshcush and nuzzers as a result of which their balance arose. Enjoying the police powers and surrounded by the military retainers, supposed to be employed in the discharge of Police duties, they, instead of acting as guardians of property, too often proved “heads of a licensed banditti”.²⁹ It seems to have been the early policy of the poligars, to impress upon the servants of the company, an idea of their importance, as independent chieftains from the most remote antiquity.³⁰ It was in this state of affairs that the pollams were acquired by the British in 1801.

For a short time after the cession, the poligars of Chittoor had the prudence to restrain their predatory inclinations within comparatively moderate bounds, but they became dissatisfied and inclined to rebel when Stratton proceeded to raise their tributes to sums which he considered more adequate to their resources.³¹ Moreover he assumed the police powers of the poligars and deprived them of their right to collect kavali fees.³² The assessment being “grievously excessive” the renters in this area fell in arrears.³³ The assessment was so high that there was an increase of star pagodas 18,946 – 27 – 30 (53%) which he completely collected in the fusly year 1801–1802.³⁴ But he was of the opinion that it was not advisable to raise the terms yearly since he thought that the “poligars might from thence infer that there never would be an end to the demands on them”.³⁵ So in the succeeding fusli he deferred making further demands until he was favoured with instructions for completing with them a permanent settlement on any principle that might deem most advisable.

The first year's tribute was petty regularly and fully discharged

by the poligars.³⁶ But the state of demand against them as balance of fusly 1212 (1802-03) was SP. 10,099-21-0. At this stage Cockburn became the Collector. Even in fusly 1213 (1803-04) they were in a balance of SP. 36250 Total SP. 46,349-26-0.³⁷ There was also further increase in tribute during the period of Mr. Cockburn. The raised revenue collection was made without any mode of assessment or any system of collection.³⁸ This became the primary cause for the revolt of the poligars against the British. That the revenues were in point of fact estimated too high may be concluded from the reduced amount of the subsequent collections and also from the circumstances of the tribute so soon having fallen into arrears.³⁹ Moreover the poligars were not in a position to pay their peshcush on account of debts they incurred while paying the increased peshcush of preceding years and also because of the failure of monsoon especially in 1804⁴⁰ which reduced this collections of revenue and even if they get any amount they had to pay their debts to money lenders. As a result the poligars withheld the payment of their tribute to the British, while the British were making new type of revenue settlements and laws and causing economic discontent and social distress on the one hand, the poligars on the other hand began to revolt against them on several reasons. The resumption of Kavali fees and powers and also the sayar duties by the British⁴¹ was also one of the reasons for their revolt. After taking over the charge of the Kavali Cockburn proposed new type of police establishment. This plan was made with a view to deprive the poligars of every advantage in it.⁴² The introduction of ryotwar system and survey by Cockburn in 1803 was also the reason for their revolts because by this the settlement was made with each ryot and it aimed at "raising the low and to humble the great".⁴³ The 6th clause of the Government's proclamation of November 1804 says that "the amount of the land rent to be paid by the ryots of the pollams of Chittoor shall be in future defined by fixed pattaahs, in order that they may be freed from vexations demands, to which the ryots have been hitherto subject".⁴⁴ Apart from all these causes their desire to preserve their independence was also an important factor. Finally the effect of the conduct of the poligar of Narganti on the sentiments and proceedings of other poligars was also important. It increased the disposition of the poligars to thwart and oppose the British authority and resist the demands for tribute.⁴⁵ When such was the curtailment of their importance and revenues, it naturally created distastefulness among the poligars, who, with the exception of Gudipati, positively declined to pay even a part of the enhanced peshcush and prepared to revolt against the British authority.

While the actual uprising started in June 1803, its first symptoms could be discovered during the early months of the year preceeding. The Tumba Poligar even before April 1802 had instigated an attack on captain Nattall⁴⁶ who was travelling through that pollam. Indeed most of the Poligars had indulged in such acts. The first step taken by Mr. Stratton to prove that he was in earnest in his warning to the defaulting tributaries was the arrest of the Narganti Poligar. Mr. Cockburn the successor of Stratton trusting to the Narganti Poligar's promise that he would discharge the arrears within twenty days, released him, but when, after this period had expired, a letter of remonstrance was despatched. The bearer of it found armed peons assembling from all quarters at Poligar's fort, who surrounded and threatened him, and insultingly bade him carry back the letter to him who sent it.⁴⁷ As a result Mr. Cockburn recommended prompt and decisive measures to bring the Poligars to reason. He urged the advisability of making a military demonstration, but troops at that time could not be spared, and the officer commanding the garrison in the fort of Chittoor considered his force too small to venture upon making any advance into the Poligars' estates. The Collector recommended stating that "anything short of total dispossession would prove inadequate". After knowing from the Collector about the Narganti Poligar's attitude the Government of Madras directed Mr. Cockburn at once to resume the whole of the lands and russooms (customary fees) of the Poligar.^{47A} Meanwhile in June 1803 the peons of the Narganti Poligar attacked and plundered the villages of Uttamtangal. Inquiries disclosed that they had acted under the orders of the Poligar himself who had share in their plunder, and they had before raiding this village, started for Chittoor, intending to loot the treasury.⁴⁸ They were prevented from doing it by the accident of one of their party, tripping and falling to the ground, a circumstance regarded as an omen of ill success. As a result the Collector was given power to resume the pollam of Narganti either permanently or temporarily and give allowance for the maintenance of the poligars not exceeding the usual "malikana" or 10th of the net revenue.⁴⁹ On 6th July 1804 the Government ordered a battalion to march which arrived at Chittoor on July 17, 1804 under Lieutenant-Colonel Darley in order to destroy the fastness of the Poligars and to construct roads. Mr. Cockburn despatched announcements of it to the refractory poligars (except Gudipati which still remained faithful) but assured them of protection and safety should they at once attend him and make arrangements for discharging their arrears. None of them attended,

but each sent a vakil. They declared that the British had no authority to do so, and returned bearing with them the conditions imposed by the Collector. The terms of agreement⁵⁰ imposed by the Collector on 20th July were as follows : The Poligars had to pay in 8 days half the arrears and interest and discharge the rest within 30 days and to surrender in land an equivalent to the balance, if the above rejected. The subsistence allowance would be paid during the resumption of land and the pollam restored if balances liquidated. If all the above conditions rejected their pollams would be assumed for ever and the concerned Poligars punished. In reply to the above the Poligars of Mogarala and Pakala asked for two months time but later both refused to the terms and opposed the British policy. The Mogarala Poligar administered the affairs of Pakala, as the Poligar of that place was a minor. A relative of Pakala Poligar declared himself unable to pay his arrears within eight days and opposed the terms. He at the same time collected his followers and arming them, prepared to resist.⁵¹

So on *July 25th* the battalion leaving the Narganti Palayam to be disposed of subsequently, marched to Pennamari, and prepared to invest the fort of Mogral, which Colonel Darley intended to attack early next morning. But in the evening the Poligar declared himself ready to resign two-thirds of each of the estates which he managed and by thus throwing the Commanding officer off his guard, escaped during the night, with from 800 to 1000 of his followers.⁵² As a result the British occupied the pollams of Mogaral and Pokala which was informed to the other Poligars by a proclamation on *26th July*. The peons, ryots and others were asked not to fear.⁵³ The fortifications of Mogral were destroyed. On *28th July* the Poligar, despairing of success, surrendered himself and his ward. After their surrender Mr. Cockburn recommended that "until the resources of the country were ascertained and a permanent revenue fixed upon these resources the Pollams shall remain in the hands of the Government and an allowance be made for the maintenance of the Poligars into whose possession, should their conduct show them to be deserving of it, they might be delivered on the condition of a Zamindary tenure subject to the regulations." In order to keep the poligars, during this period of "temporary assumption" of their pollams, "at a distance from the situation of their influence and late authority" the elder was sent in custody to Vellore, while the minor was detained in Chittoor but later both of them were sent to Chengalput.⁵⁴

On July 31st Mr. Cockburn desired Colonel Darley to take

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measures for the assumption of the Pollams of Kallur, Pulicherla, Bangari, Yedaragunta, Pullur and Tumba, as the proprietors of these estates had not acceded to the terms of settlement proposed to them. On 4th August 1804 a final agreement was sent to the Chittoor Poligars (excepting those formerly exempted for their acceptance) who were asked to give live answer to it, as soon as the detachment arrived their Pollam. According to the terms each Poligar had: (1) to relinquish to the British $\frac{2}{3}$ of his pollam (which must be contiguous "to the districts of the (Sirkar) until his principal and interest on balances were paid, (2) to consent to a survey of his pollam with the view of forming a permanent revenue, (3) to relinquish police powers to the British, (4) to assist in destroying all forts and barriers in his pollam, (5) to consent to abolish the collection of road customs in his pollam, (6) to agree "to pay implicit obedience to all the orders of the sirkar".⁵⁵

As the above poligars did not agree even to the final agreement the detachment therefore proceeded northward into the Chendragiri taluk and Kullur and Pulicherla, on hearing which they fled into their jungles by 6th August, 1804. Proclamations were issued promising personal safety and consideration if they surrendered within three days and accepted the terms and the same was posted in the principal villages of Kulloor and Pulicherla.⁵⁶ On August 7, 1804 the British sent Mr. Balaji Raw to gain informations as to the designs and strength of the Poligars.⁵⁷ He came to know that the Bungari, Pullur, Kulloor and Yedarakondah poligars after sending their female part of their families to a distance had begun preparing ammunition and stores on the hill near Kalgherryally. Most of the inhabitants fled and the peons were assembled there⁵⁸ in the month of Audi on 24th (1804). On 25th Audi (1804) Mr. Balaji Raw met the Poligar of Pulloor who at first consented to relinquish in land an equivalent to the balance that he owed to Government. Later he said that he was unable to pay due to the failure of monsoon and the debts he incurred as a result of the rise of peshcush and its collection by Mr. Stratton.⁵⁹ He afterwards repudiated the agreement and ordered those who were sent to settle the accounts to leave his polayam.⁶⁰ Colonel Darley, therefore marched into his palayams the Poligar's followers opened fire upon the sepoyas as soon as they appeared, and defended the first barrier, until in the evening it was carried by assault. In the lower fort of Pullur the Poligar assembled an armed force of 500 to 800 men to meet the assault failing which he escaped to the top of the hill and descending in the darkness by a secret pathway escaped and joined his

friends Bangari, Yedaragunta, Tumba and Narganti, who had sent men to assist him in his unsuccessful struggle⁶¹ and who were likewise in arms. The detachment was later sent to destroy the forts of Kulloor and Pulicherla the poligars of which had some days previous to its arrival left their pollams. This was an "open rebellion by the Poligars of Chittoor" against the British. Precautionary measures were taken for the safety of the cash chest in Vellore. As the fortifications of Pullur (strongest in Chittoor Pollams) etc. had been so speedily reduced the hopes of the rebels now diminished and they made little further opposition to the battalion.

After the forts at Pullur had been demolished, those of Tumba and Bangari, which were also found deserted, were treated in a similar fashion. The Bangari Poligar had at the first appearance of open rebellion retired to the Cuddapah district. He seems to have been well disposed towards the British. He disapproved of his eldest son, Yedaragunta Poligar, who contrary to his father's advice, had joined the rebels. The Narganti Palayam was also disposed of later not only for the causes already said but also for what the British thought the "contempt of local authority" by its poligar due to following act. The former and father of the present Poligar of Narganti made over the villages of Muthyaluvaripalli even before 1780s to a temple in the village of Trevellum. In July 1804 the Poligar sent 25 peons who seized it and carried the crops. By this time a ryotwari settlement was made and the village was added to the sirkar land and entered in the jamabandi at the yearly rent of S.P.33. The sarkar was to defray the temple expenses in money. The then acting Collector Mr. Alexander H. K also told the Poligar that it was improper (on Poligar's part) to take back the village and asked him to consider it as an "indemnification". For this the Poligar replied that as he now found he required it from the low state of his finance he had resumed it.⁶² According to the British it was a violation of the section II of Regulation XXXI 1802. The Poligar made the villagers and cultivators who were inhabitants of Narkul pollam to leave it together. The above is not the only instance; there were several other instances of Chittoor Poligars' non-compliance with orders.⁶³ As a result in early September 1804 the Pollam of Narganti was taken possession and "droogs" destroyed. A road was opened from it to Chittoor. The tranquility of the country was restored and as a result the inhabitants who had been driven from their villages to seek safety among hills returned to their houses and the cultivation of the soil. By this time the Poligars were residing in the jungles between the open country and the western

Ghats. As we have seen, within less than two months the whole of the forts and barriers were destroyed by Colonel Darley and the Poligars fled into the jungles.⁶⁴ Reports of whereabouts of the Poligars were usually reaching Darley who was commanding the detachment. They were frequently being made by the Monigars of villages and other head inhabitants.⁶⁵ These reports had always turned out to be false even after a march of twenty miles, sometimes more some times less.⁶⁶ On the basis of one such reports captain Bruce and Armstrong marched with their divisions into the open country on the night of *16th September, 1804*. Entering the jungles was very difficult. And so Darley made a plan to separate the ryots from the interest of their former masters and to bring round the Sirkar under British Control and management.⁶⁷ Strong posts of communications were to be established along the limits of the junale from Yadarakonda south to Nagapeta north and the remainder of the detachment in a central situation. While these matters were going on measures were taken to find out where the Poligar chiefs and their families reside. Meanwhile three principal men belonging to Narganti man the minister of Bungari man and some followers asked for a "Cowle". At the same time the uncle of the young heir of Kolloor pollam who usurped it was in arms.⁶⁸ The Punganoor Poligar promised the British to secure him as well as his families, headmen, the property in cattle and others.

With the exception of an engagement near Nagapatla on *September 19th* in which the Poligars of Kallur, Pulicherla and one another (probably Yadarakonda) were easily defeated and no further resistance was met with. On *September 24th* an attempt was made to capture Sandoorkonda, but captain Armstrong was misled by his guides and all the Poligars' men succeeded in escaping.⁶⁹ The following incident shows how the British were frequently misled. Observing a few men on Sandoorkonda hill from Cap. Armstrong's post Darley tried to gain information about them. On the information from Mr. Cockburn and a villager that sometime before principal man belonging to the Bangari poligar was in confinement on the top of the hill, Darley asked Armstrong to proceed up the hill on the morning of *24th September*. In the evening Armstrong and the peons sent for information by Mr. Cockburn also reached Darley disproving what the village men said. Finally it became clear that the villager had given false information about the place and it appeared that even the peons (sent by the Collector) who were the inhabitants of the country and had a very good understanding.⁷⁰ The Poligars left the place during the

night itself. The Poligars of Chittoor and Pulicherla also gave no decided answer to the terms of settlement proposed. They left their pollams and went to the neighbouring "district" of Gurrumkonda a few days before the arrival of the detachment.

The insurgents had by this time (24th September) been entirely driven from their own country, and were wandering about in the densest parts of the jungles, where they were safe from pursuit. But most of their followers scoured the country in bands, pillaged villages set fire to them and seized all the passes leading to Tirupati, intending to plunder the Pilgrims travelling towards the Temple through these pollams from Mysore and the countries to the west.⁷¹ To check them and also to prevent total failure of the revenues of the pagodas, Cockburn raised 150 peons at the expense of S.P. 75 for ten days and 500 more peons also were enlisted to be employed excluding ordinary police establishment until a regular police should be established.⁷² These peons were distributed among the villages. In the unsettled parts of the taluks. The peons of the late poligars of Mōgral and Pakala were the most active in the plunder. Shortly after the assumption of the Pollams of the above poligars they even surprised in Mogral a small part of British sepoy placed there, disarmed and then dismissed them, killed 5 police, mortally wounded the Daroga and took possession of the district.⁷³ Therefore the above two pollams were resumed and the droogs and barriers destroyed. At the beginning of September 1804 itself a party of regular troops was stationed on the hill and in the town of Tirupati in order to prevent the peons from molesting the pilgrims or inhabitants and obviating a loss of revenue from the approaching festival. Even this measure did not help. The peons forced travellers to pay unusual duties at Tirupati. As a result the income had fallen below even the amount procured in 1803, which was less than the average collections of the last ten years due to war and famine in the Maratha dominions.⁷⁴ By this time all the fortresses in the pollams were demolished. But the poligars still kept together their followers in the jungly parts of the country. Due to the establishment of two army posts their incursions into the sirkar lands became less frequent and less ruinous. In order to bring peace and terminate the rebellion it was felt necessary to secure the person of all the rebel poligars by offering a reward by proclamation of one thousand pagodas for the apprehension of each of the poligars and half the sum for information which shall lead to their apprehension in order to execute all of them caught in arms by a summery process.⁷⁵

By this time the Government hoping to settle the disturbances by peaceful measures appointed a Commission (22nd September) consisting of three members, Messrs. Webb, Hurdis and Stratton, the last having been Mr. Cockburn's predecessor, to settle the affairs of the Pollams. They reached Chittoor on *6th October* and at once directed (the Collector and others) that all measurers which might affect the endeavours should be suspended. The troops were therefore withdrawn from the Pollams. But they (commissioners) could achieve little for they were constantly misled by false rumours regarding the whereabouts of the Poligars. The pioneers however, had done some work. After destroying various barriers and forts, they erected a road 50 feet wide, from Narganti to Chittoor and extended it as far as Vellore. Another road was also opened between Paradarami and Venkatagiri the chief towns respectively of the Yadarakonda and Bangari Poligars. Before the arrival of the special commissioners some of the rebel poligars had shown signs of an inclination to submit. Poligar of Pulicherla himself wrote to Darley offering to surrender on that officer's letter of safe conduct and a wakil of the Punganur Zamin-dari brought similar messages from Kallur.⁷⁶ One of the first acts of Mr. Webb and his coadjustors was to set the two captives (the poligars of Pakala and Mogral who unconditionally surrendered) at Chengalput at liberty, a measure which encouraged several of the others to come to Chittoor. Secondly the commission despatched cowles of safe conduct to the several poligars for their coming to Chittoor "without let or moestation from the 6th to the 20th instant inclusive to adjust their affairs." The undermentioned poligars accordingly visited the Commission on its cowle (agreement) agreeably to the dates affixed to them to their several names—Gudipati Poligar on the 19th October instant, Nargunti Poligar on the 20th, Pullur poligar 22nd, Yadarakonda poligar 22nd Kolloor poligar 24th, Tumba Poligar 24th. The Poligar of Pulicherla had not come in on its cowle.⁷⁷ The Yadarakonda Poligar stated that he was authorised to treat for his father the Bungari Poligar whose great age prevented his attendance on the commission, and he further presented it an 'arjee' as did also the Narganti poligar. They were called upon to sign the agreement binding themselves to the terms given below :

At the first interview with the several poligars the Commission told them the company's displeasure for their having withheld their kists and repeatedly neglected the orders of the Collector. It also informed them that the terms would be made known to them at a further meeting.

The terms drafted in the form of a "Muchilka"⁷⁸ in order to get the signature of the poligars consisted of the thirteen following articles originally based on Mr. Cockburn's terms as mentioned already and Lord Bentinck's guidelines⁷⁹ to the commission but with modifications and additions. According to the terms.⁸⁰ The poligars were required (1) to disband their peons within a month after assigning a Muchilka but to entertain a few for collecting revenue (2) to assist in forming roads in destroying remaining forts or barriers and to erect new ones (3) to pay full arrears of peshcush (s.p.46,349-21) on or before 15th December 1804 (4) to assign (in case of default of arrears) their pollams to the company until their arrears and regular revenue be paid off during which period the company allows them a Malikana calculated on the gross collection (5) to agree for a survey of their pollams to equillize their tribute and actual resources and to pay 2/5 of the revenue in the present fusly (6) to pay on account of current revenue their peshcush as now settled agreeably to the following kistbudy until the survey and future tribute is settled. The Kistbudy to be paid on the 15th January, March, April, May was 10 F. Cent, 15 F cent, 20 F cent, 20 F cent and 10 F cent respectively and the arrears, as settled by survey, be paid on 15th June and receive, if due, from the Sirkar, (7) to resign administration of police and collection of Kavali fees in land, money, grain or on sayar (8) to stop collecting road duties or duties on trade under the denominations of Baramory, addomory and syr (9) to afford no shelter to a person who was denounced as rebel by the British and its allies (10) to countenance no thieves but to assist in apprehending them (11) to molest no person who might have taken sirkar cowle during the military operations in the pollams (12) to obey 'with alacrity all orders of the circar' (13) If they fail to observe any of the above stipulations they would forfeit their pollams for ever.

The terms embrace the Governor's order of 30th June 1801 and terms of Cockburn with some departure from the latter's tenor. The Commission stipulated the 6th article to prevent Poligars forcing ryots to cultivate their land alone and to pay arrears and take their pollams soon, the 9th after knowing the sonacal Poligar's help to Chittoor Poligars, 10th as a check on them, and the 11th in consequence of a letter from Cockburn informing that he had given cowle to some inhabitants during the late military operations.⁸¹

The Poligars of Pakala, Mogarala, Tumba and Gudipati signed

the above agreement. But the others evaded by sending messages of the causes for their failure to attend for the signing. At a time when the Commissioners were receiving these evasive messages, they learnt that Pakala and Mogarala had gone off with Kallur and Pullur attended by a large number of armed peons and that the chiefs of Tumba and Yedaragunta had quickly followed them. After waiting fruitless for two days three companies of sepoy were called upon from Mangalam. The Commissioners reported to Madras that they now felt convinced of the inability to bring the rebels to a sense of their duty, all attempts at conciliation had thus proved vain, measures should be taken. A detachment was accordingly ordered to arrive at Chittoor under the command of Lieutenant colonel Money-Penny. It consisted of more than 3000 men including a good number of cavalry. Martial law was proclaimed.⁸² Moneypenny issued a proclamation inviting the rebels to submit within seven days. This did not apply to Gudipati and Narganti who had not joined the Poligars now. For his last act of faithfulness the Narganti poligar was granted a free pardon for his misconduct but his palaiyams, together with all the others with the exception of Gudipati, was directed to be resumed.⁸³ The terms offered by Moneypenny were accepted by the Poligars of Bangari and Tumba, but after a week had expired, the former, it was proved had never received the proclamation, since his son, the poligar of Yedargunta, had intercepted it and Tumba pretended that he had really been prevented by illness, so that the submission of these two chiefs was accepted. The Kallur and Pulicherla Poligars surrendered to Colonel Munro in the Ceded Districts, but Pakala and Mogarala resolved to continue the contest to the bitter end. The detachment was therefore, marched against the hill of Mogral, where the rebels had taken up their position, and where they successfully resisted every attempt to dislodge them during the day. They were, however, so disheartened by the results of the attack, that they evacuated the place during the night and over ran the country, eventually retreating beyond the Cuddapah frontier, and surrendering to colonel Munro on receiving a promise of life and liberty.⁸⁴ Upon hearing an engagement at Mogarala, the Pullur Poligar started to the assistance of his friends there. It is uncertain whether he succeeded in reaching the hills before his friends evacuated the place. He, however, caused considerable trouble by plundering the country and being closely pursued, followed the example of Mogarala and Pakala in surrendering to Colonel Munro.⁸⁵ The only rebel still at large was now the poligar of Yadaragunta, who had shown himself to be "the most

daring and desperate among the insurgents''. He was joined by the dispossessed poligar of Charagallu in the Palamaner taluk, who for rebellion has been imprisoned by colonel Read in the fort of Krishnagiri. In 1794 he escaped from it, then wandered, later joined the rebellious poligars and finally received command for a portion of the Yedaragunta peons with whom he took possession of his ancient stronghold of Peddanaididrug, and plundered several villages in the neighbourhood of Ambur.⁸⁶ To assist in reducing this force a reinforcement marched from Mysore. These together with colonel Money-penny's troops and of 1000 irregular peons enlisted for the purpose of penetrating the jungles, formed a formidable array. The rebels made two desperate attacks upon the Mysore detachment under captain Little, but were defeated and soon after the fort was invested on all sides. Seeing that no help remained, they disbanded their troops and escaped into the jungles, where, after some time, they were captured and hanged.⁸⁷ On February, 8, 1805 the Collector was able to report to the Government that the Chittoor Paliayams had at length been reduced to perfect quiet. Material law was suspended, and the detachment were recalled; but Darley still remained in the neighbouring with a small force to preserve peace. The Pakala, Mogarala, Pullur and Yedaragunta Paliyams were declared forfeited in consequence of the continued rebellion of these poligars and their not availing themselves in time of the terms held out by the proclamation, and the three surviving chiefs ordered to reside in Madras.⁸⁸ The others were granted an allowance of 18 percent upon the revenues of their pollams calculated upon Mr. Stratton's statement of fusli 1210 until such time as Government should restore them upon permanent sanads.⁸⁹ A survey and classification of the Chittoor district was completed in 1805 for revenue purposes and the accounts then prepared-known as "pymaish" - was the basis of all subsequent assessments. In 1808, a three years' lease system was introduced, but the experiment proving unsuccessful, the old plan of settling with the cultivators direct was reverted to in 1821.⁹⁰

Immediately after the revolts were over, the pollgars were found involved in debts for a long time mainly because of the new revenue settlements introduced and also the resumption of their pollams as a consequence of their revolts. Some of the creditors even prosecuted the poligars for them in the civil court. The total debts of the poligars was Star Pagodas 33,750-26-4⁹¹ There were debits of even 30 or 40 years standing.⁹² The debts of modern date alone amounted

to 11,125-43-34.⁹³ The debt due to Narain Chetty, a merchant of Chittoor alone amounted to Star Pagodas 2,802-38-75.⁹⁴ Mr. Grames the new Collector asked the poligars to pay 40% of their 18% share for their arrears of peshcush and debits to be liquidated (by government) immediately after they were restored.⁹⁵ The resumed pollams were exempted from this burden. One year time was declared for the claim of debits against Chittoor Poligars.

The extirpation of the poligars was necessary to the establishment of Company authority in the South in general and in Chittoor Pollams in particular because unlike the Zamindars and the poligars in some other areas the Chittoor Poligars refused to obey the British authority and new laws. As far as the participation of the different sections of people in the Poligars' revolt and the British policy in wiping it out are concerned they are questions of importance to be discussed in detail in order to know the exact nature of both the revolt and the British rule. Those who mainly took part in the revolt were inamdars, mirasidars, Amaram and Kattubadi peons and also ryots and others.

Inam, in South India, played an important role in determining the nature and survival of any political system. Faced with confusion of claims and counter-claims, concessions had been made by each successive dynastic power, whether Hindu or Muslim and whether grandly imperial or locally petty.⁹⁶ Each such power seeking to gain local support had recognised the existing realities.⁹⁷ The Inam holdings were both the symbols of status and the subsistence of entrenched privilege and power for every important institution or elite of the country. In 1860s there were some 452 separate categories of inams in the Madras presidency.⁹⁸ Inams broadly, in South India, were of four types namely Devadayam, Dharmadayam, Dasabandam and Socio-political holdings like Manyams, Amaram and Kattubadi inams. Devadayams were given to religious institutions (temples etc.) and individuals of peculiar merit. Attached to temples as those at Tirupati in Chittoor Pollams, there were lands of enormous size, value and importance. More than half the inams of Madras Presidency were held by persons of socio-religious (and political) merit.⁹⁹ Largely held by Brahmins most of the devodayams were of antiquity and were called Agraharams, Brahmadayams, Shortriyams and Bhattavaritti inams. During the period of Cockburn the lands enjoyed by temples were resumed and he proposed the payment of the temple expenses from the public treasury¹⁰⁰ which means the benefits enjoyed

by Brahmins and others from the temple lands were denied to them. This created an atmosphere of enmity towards the British. They thought that the British were trying to destroy Hinduism and to spread Christianity. Cockburn also resumed the privileges of the Brahmins and disturbed Dharmadayams given for maintaining patasalas, Chatrams etc. and Desabandams given for public works. In the case of socio-political holdings they multiplied considerably during the political turbulence of 17th and 18th centuries. poligars were especially active and "open handed" in making number of fresh grants under the socio-political category to prevent antipathy and rebellion¹⁰¹ In Chittoor Pollams, at the higher level, were Amaram and Chillur inams and at the village level the grama-manyams and still at the lower level were the Kattubadi inams or inamdars. Amaram or Rajabandu inam lands held by relatives of the poligars and Chillur inams given for the convenience or the personal state of the poligars were rated by Mr. Cockburn at the full survey assesment.¹⁰² The assesment was so high that a deduction of one fourth in the former and one third of rate in the later was made by Mr. Graeme.¹⁰³ At the village level there were inams called grama-manyams (held by karanam, potil etc.) for every form of village need, service or function and for every kind of administrative duty performed for the benefit of higher levels of political authority. But these were mostly resumed or disturbed by Mr. Cockburn.¹⁰⁴ Apart from inam, at the village level, there was the mirasi, a share in the produce of ryots. In North Arcot all these superiorities were not only resumed but also incorporated with the public revenue.¹⁰⁵ The amount added to the sarkar revenue by the resumption of mirasi by Cockburn was S. P. 1554-0-65, and by the assessment of manyams was S. P. 5585-21-25 ¹⁰⁶ in Chittoor pollams. While the inamdars were hardpressed by the new assessments and assumptions the mirasi disappeared as a result of the levelling effects of the ryotwari and the government appropriation of all superiorities.¹⁰⁷ The Kattubadi inams, at the lower level, were grants made as hereditary "reimbursement" to armed warriors in return for the revenue-collecting, police and military duties which they preformed. When callad upon for active duty the "Kattubadi peons" had been paid an extra allowance or batta.¹⁰⁸ While forming the first settlement Mr. Stratton valued the Amaram and Kattubadi inams as if they were to be resumed.¹⁰⁹ and Cockborn fully assessed the former and disturbed the latter. This alarmed the peons of both the categories (Amaram and Kattubadi) and also the poligars because disturbing this Kattubadi peons by proposing commutation of military services of the Poligars would lead to the destruction of the poligars' power and the

peons had to wander without jobs. While Cockburn was disturbing the age old institutions (inams and miras) and making the holders to join in the poligar revolts in Chittoor, Munro, in ceded Districts, was making a political settlement with each of the important leaders and lords of villages and thus formed an alliance with the loyalties from these elite groups.¹¹⁰ What would happen if the above institutions were disturbed or resumed is clear from the revolt of the inam holders along with their poligars in Chittoor pollams between 1803-05 and in ceded districts in 1846 (Narasimha Reddy Revolt). There are evidences that even other categories of people in villages participated in the poligars revolt on several reasons. To mention few such causes, the British while suppressing the revolts destroyed villages, set fire to them and killed many people residing there.¹¹¹ It happened so in several villages and this naturally produced a feeling of enmity against the British among all categories of villages. The participation of all categories of people in the poligars revolt was such a great number that at one stage the British thought separating the ryots and some other categories of people from the poligars.¹¹² The British encouraged this spirit in some people and granted written assurances of protection to those willing to receive them.¹¹³ But only every few people receive them. Apart from this the poligars received their people's support. The attachment of people to their chieftains was great. They could not go against the traditional sentiments of loyalty towards their masters and naturally took up arms in this favour.¹¹⁴ From this it is clear that the revolt like the grievances was not confined only to the poligars.¹¹⁵

An important feature that we find for a general interest, in Chittoor pollams, is that all the poligars here belonged to a single cast namely the Naidus (Kammas). It has happened mainly due to the policy of the Vijayanagar rulers who determined to wipe out the Reddies' influence in the administration and political fields and preferred Kammas (Naidus) or Velamas in appointments except in a few places like Koilkuntla (Cuddaph district) in Andhra Pradesh. Secondly, we do not find Muslim poligars anywhere. It might be due to the attitude of Muslim rulers not to disturb local powers but to rule over them and collect revenues. Thirdly, it appears, the poligars had neither thought of creating a grand league (against the British) with the other poligars in South India nor possessed clear principles (of creating an independent India) on which they should have fought. It is the main defect of their fight. Moreover, their method of bargain-

ing with the British during the revolt gave clues to the British of their weakness. Finally it is necessary to mention the role of the British whether as destructive or constructive power. It drained the wealth of the country but at the same time it became an unconscious tool of history and consequently laid the material basis for the awakening of the Indian people.¹¹⁶ The British imperialism being superior to the feudal civilization of India played a regenerating role¹¹⁷ and in the words of Strachy, "contained the greatest proportion of constructive elements." Munro sowed the seeds of progress and set in motion an agrarian revolution in Andhra. His most revolutionary reform was what may be called the agrarian enfranchisement of the peasantry.¹¹⁸ The extirpation of the Poligars in South India paved way for the political unity to India and put an end to the continuance of the feudal society and all the oppression etc., attached to this institution and a new, intelligent and exploiting power entered into its shoes. While Munro could extirpate the 80 poligars with their 30,000 peons in the ceded districts, Mr. Cockburn along with Colonel Darley, Colonel Moneypenny and Captain Little extirpated the 10 poligars with about 5000 peons in the Chittoor Pollams. Thus "the upstart class of robber chieftains that ruled the roost and ruined the rural economy" came to an end.¹¹⁹ □

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9. *Letter of George Stratton to the Board of Revenue dated 15th Nov. 1802.*
10. Instances of devision from the line of succession prescribed by the Saster among the Chittoor Poligars occured in the case of Pullur, Narganti and Bangari Pollams. For more details see : *Stratton's letter to the Board of Revenue, 21st March 1802.*
11. Only one instance occured among the Chittoor Poligars of a female having succeeded in her own right viz. Seetamma the widow of the Late Poligar of Pakala Pollam. For more details see : Ibid.
12. *Letter of Stratton to the Board of Revenue 15th November 1802.*
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16. Ibid.
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18. Cockburn, Collector of Arcot (1803-04). *Report on the Chittoor Pollams to the Commissioner for the Affairs of the Chittoor Pollams, 6th October 1804.*

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20. Ibid.
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27. For detailed statistics see *Stratton's letter to the Board of Revenue, 15th November 1802.*
28. Ibid.
29. *N.A.D. Manual, p. 99.*
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33. Ibid; P.108.
34. *Stratton to the Board of Revenue, 15th November, 1802.*
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36. *Cockburn's report to the Commissioners...*, 6th October 1804.
37. Ibid.
38. Graeme, the Third Collector of North Arcot, *Report on the Polliams of Chittoor to the Board of Revenue*, March 31, 1818, despatched on May 22, 1818.
39. Ibid.
40. *Cockburn to the Commissioners...*, October 6, 1804.
41. Ibid.
42. *Cockburn to the Board of Revenue*, August, 3, 1803.
43. *N. A. D. M.*, Vol. I, PP. 140-41.
44. Graeme.
45. *Cockburn to the Commissioners ...*, October 6, 1804.
46. *George Stratton to the Board of Revenue*, and April 1802.
47. *Cockburn's letter to the Board of Revenue* 23rd March, 1803.
 Eleven of the principals concerned in the attack on captain Nuthall were secured. The rest of the persons concerned in the attack on captain Nuthall were Kuttubadi peons in the service of the Tumba Poligar. Mr. Stratton accordingly ordered the Poligar to send him those persons. His orders were repeated 4 times but the poligar evaded. But no action was taken because there was no proof that the Poligar was also behind them. As he had suspicion about the poligars of Kallur, Tumba and others. Mr. Stratton summoned them all to his cutcherry in the month of August, warned them. The above letter gives further details in this matter.
- 47 (a) *F. W. Ellis. Secretary, Board of Revenue, Letter to the Collector of Northern division of Arcot and Baramahal*, 6th May 1803.
48. *N. A. D. M.*, P. 100.
49. *Letter to the Collector of North Arcot District from the Governor General in Council*, 5th July 1804.

50. *Cockburn's letter to the Poligars of Mogarale and Pakala, dated 20th July, 1804.*
51. N. A. D. M., P, 100
52. Ibid P. 102.
53. *Letter from Cockburn to the Board of Revenue, 28 July, 1804.*
54. Ibid.
55. *Report of the Commission appointed to settle the affairs of the Pollams of Chittoor to Lord Bentinck, Governor in Council of Fort St. George, 1804, Appendix No. 33, PP XXX-XXIX.*
56. Ibid; Appendix No. 34, P.XXXII.
57. Ibid. Appendix No. 35, P.XXXII.
58. *Report of Balagi Raw the Ameen sent to Pulloor for getting information), Audi 24th (in 1804)*
59. *Second Report from Balagi Raw, 15th Audi (in 1048)*
60. *Letter of Cockburn to the Board of Revenue, 16th August, 1804.*
61. N. A, I. D., P, 102,
62. *Letter from Alexander H, Kelso to the Board of Revenue, 2nd August, 1804.*
63. Ibid.
64. *Letter from Lieutenant Colonel J. Darley to the Adjutant General of the Army, Fort St. George, 17th September 1804.*
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. N.A.D.M., P.103.

70. *Letter from Darley to the Adjutant General of the Army, 20th September 1804.*
71. *Letter from Cockburn to the Board of Revenue, 25th August, 1804.*
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. *Letter from Cockburn to the Board of Revenue, 6th September, 1804.*
75. Ibid.
76. *N. A. D. M., PP. 103-4.*
77. *Report of the Commission to Bentinck, 1804.*
78. It is a registered cowl agreement given in writing by a ryot to a landlord on the condition that he (ryot) shall pay the agreed amount to the landlord whether he cultivates or not". (*Mandalika Vruttivyavahara Padakosam : Pradhama Samputam Vyavasaya padalu, Hyderabad, 1962, quoted by Bangorey, P.101*).
79. The following were the guidelines :
The "spirit of (Poligars ') opposition should be subdued and effectual means adopted for preventing the recurrence of so dangerous an example" (2) That the poligars be required immediately to disband their peons. (3) That they be called on to account for their arrears of revenue. (4) That advantage be taken of the occasion of assembling a military force for opening roads of communication through the pollams of Chittoor and for the effectual destructions of the fastness of the Poligars". These orders were asked to effect without the use of force in bringing the reform by the civil power. But force was used an explanation for which was given on 6th October. 1804. (Report of the Commission. . . to Bentinck, opp. cited)
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. *N. A. D. M., P. 105.*

83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency in illustration of the records of Government and the yearly administrative reports in three Volumes*, Vol. II, Part I, Appendices, Printed by E. Keys, at the Government press, Madras, 1885, P.55.
91. Graeme.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Robert Eric Frykenberg, *The Silent settlement in South India, 1793-1853 : An Analysis of the Role of Inams in the Rise of the Indian Imperial system*. (See : Frykenberg, Edited, *Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia*, Orient Longman, 1977, P.40).
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. *General Reports of the Board of Revenue to the Governor in Council sent home to the Court of Directors*, from 5th October 1804 to 25th February, 1807, Vols. 10, 11 & 12, printed at the Scottish press, Graves, Cookson and Co., Madras, 1873, para 207, Regional office of State Archives, Tirupati, Acc No. 385.
101. Frykenberg, P.42.
102. Graeme.

103. Ibid.
104. *Report of J. Nisbat, Collector of North Arcot, to the Board of Revenue, 26th March, 1827.*
105. A.V. Ramana Rao, *Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh (1766-1957)*, 1958, p. 39.
106. General Reports, Paras No. 204-6,
107. A.V. Ramana Rao, P.39. .
108. Frykenburg, P.43.
109. Graeme.
110. Frykenburg P. 49.
111. Arjeas (requisitions) of Rangapthi Raju (Kallur), Vengama Naid (Narganti), Kumara Raghunatha Naid (Pullur), Poteynayani Kumara Muddu Mallappa Naid (Tumba), Chandrasekhara Naid (Bangari), both in Telugu and English sent to the Commissioners appointed to settle the affairs of Chittoor Pollams, (without date).
112. *J. Darley's (Lieutenant Colonel Commanding the Detachment) letter to the Adjutant General of the Army, Fort St. George, September 17, 1804.*
113. *Cockburn's letter to the Commissioners for the Affairs of the Chittoor Pollams, dated 17th October 1804.*
114. S. B. Chaudhury P.201, *Minutes of Board of Revenue, Madras, 5th Jan. 1818.*
115. S.B. Chaudhury, P.202
116. M. Pattabhi Rama Reddy, (Founder of Andhra Pradesh History Congress) *Presidential Address*, Seminar on the History of Nellore District, held at Kavali, Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh on 28th and 29th of October 1978 under the DIRECTORSHIP OF DR. V. RAMAKRISHNA and sponsored by the U.G.C.
117. *K. Mark & F. Engels, The First Indian War of Independence 1857-1859*, Foreign Languages publishing House. Moscow (article of K. Marx; *The Future Results of the British Rule in India*, London, dated Friday, July, 22) P, 33

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DELINEATION OF FEMALE FIGURES IN AMARAVATHI SCULPTURES

V. ANURADHA

Amaravathi, 22 miles from Guntur is famous for its stupa and Amaresvara temple. This Stupa which was built prior to Asoka's reign was provided with the granite railing during the time of Asoka. Later the Sathavahanas enlarged and embellished it with the fine port-raing scenes from the life of Buddha, his previous births, amorous couples, flora and fauna, local history and legend. The railing which stood to a height of about 14 feet had vertical pillars with sockets and horizontal 'Suchies' or cross bars which were profusely carved and surmounted on 'Ushnisha' containing beautiful sculptures. This stupa which stood intact till about 12th century became a victim of large scale spoliation in the late 18th century when a local Zamindar de-filled, damaged large part of it for his building materials while constructing his capital at this site. Large number of sculptural slabs were melted into lime, while others were broken and used as building materials along with large sized bricks of Pre-Christian era. Thanks to the efforts of Col. Meckanzie a few of them were saved and sent to the British Museum. Later some were sent to Machilipatnam and Madras where they are on display now and they constitute the cream of the collections.

The artist of Amaravathi while using the traditional, synoptic, symbolic and narrative methods presented a long story within a space of 4 to 6 inches. The lotus medallions of the uprights of the railing are of very high order showing the acme of perfection attained by the sculptures during the two centuries of Andhra preceeding and succeeding the birth of Christ. The artist profusely used the motives borrowed from Mathura and Gandhara schools and presented in mythical animals but used the local idiom in representing the scenes. Evidently he was quite at ease in adopting the themes of other schools to fit into his mental frame work before chistelling the stones.

I have chosen a critical analysis of female figures in the sculp-

tures of Amaravathi and certain extra art of Nagarjunakonda which is only an extension of Amaravathi school.

Women are shown in different sequences, situations and scenes queens, courtiers, servants, gate keepers. Mithuna representation were chosen from different strata of society. By and large they have been represented anatomically in perfect positions with their bosom uncovered except in the scene of 'Ghata Jataka' at Nagarjunakonda.

In the Amaravati sculptures the representation of women can be divided into the following - Royal ladies - guards of harem - ladies who possessed the titles of Mahasenapati, Mahatalavari etc - rich and wealthy women, servants and the village folk - ladies in amorous couples etc.

Royal ladies along with their husbands are depicted as seated on thrones or crouches surrounded by maids at hand. (Plate No. I) The women are generally adorned with ornaments like head dresses, (Plate No. II) earring or ornaments, anklets, bracelets necklaces and buckled waist belts. It is rather difficult to clearly say whether their upper part of the breast was covered by a diaphanous dress or left bare. They are extremely graceful and their faces are full expression of 'Bhava' which the Andhra artist tried to portray. As an illustration I may cite the representation of Maha Maya Devi leaning against the 'Sal' tree in the Lumbini garden and the representation of Maha Prajapathi Gowthami in the serene scene portraying the casting of the horoscope. These sculptures are a feast to the eye. Befitting the occasion relating to the episode the depiction of the queen in her graceful body and radiant face is marvellous. The servant maids in their position can be easily identified. They are shown in a variety of poses and unornamented bodies with hands holding royal fans and drinking vessels etc. (Plate No. III)

In the royal palace the maids are shown as musicians, dancers and Subhararikas playing on their instruments and affording pleasure and happiness to the gathering. (Plate No. IV) They are very beautifully carved in fine ornamentations and dress befitting the situation. The harems or residences of their queens are generally guarded by Amazonian women-tall, broad shouldered, heavy bodied but fierce looking. (Plate No. I)

The queens and other important ladies participating in social and religious work. It can be easily surmised that they helped their

husbands in the constructions of Viharas and other works. They enjoyed absolute freedom in religious matters. They had the freedom to follow Buddhist path though their husbands followed Vedic religion. In the inscriptions of the times they were highly praised and appreciated for their munificent donations. In all donations given to the Viharas the role of the mother or sister or wife is invariably linked with the male. They were associated in constructional activities with all their status in the society. From all these instances it is evident that the lady played an important role in the ancient times.

The sculptures of Amaravathi were clear in the delineation of human anatomy in a perfect manner. They had reached the acme of perfection in portraying the faces with the particular bhava or rasa as per the sequence of the story. Since Karuna is the quintessence of Buddhism, its portrayal in the faces of female is very realistic, similarly sorrow or Dukha presented in the sculptures is most impressive. The scene of 'Kantaka' kneeling at the feet of Yasodhara who was full of sorrow perhaps is there magnanimous. Similarly Bhavanaka' and 'Bhibhatsa' – that is the feeling of fear – is graphically shown in the Nalagiri dmana episode on the cross beams of the railing. (Plate No. III) In this the expression of Bhayanaka the portrayal of the frightened ladies running away and clinging to the necks of the nearest males at the rushing of the intoxicated mad elephant 'Nalagiri' almost running amuck and trampling people and the ladies feeling utmost fear is marvellously shown.

In the delineation of the amorous couples of 'Mithuna' selected from the different strata of society portraying varied expressions the innate carving for jewellery and toileting etc of the female counter part was clearly showed. She was always shown with a delicate body and heavy bosom in a variety of coiffers and in different poses. As an example may cite that the satisfaction and the pride in accepting and decorating herself with a nose ring or 'hara' or a 'Keyura' and in refusing an intoxicating drink from her paramour in a most delicate way in these sculptures have no parallels elsewhere.

The village folk and the tribals living in forests far away from the civilised cities have been represented in a most realistic manner without sophistications in their natural surroundings. (Plate No. I) Lady breast feeding the child, a hungry crow cawing and perching on the top of a hut and the scenes of horrors and atrocities committed by 'Aparla' to Buddha are the excellent examples of realistic portrayal.

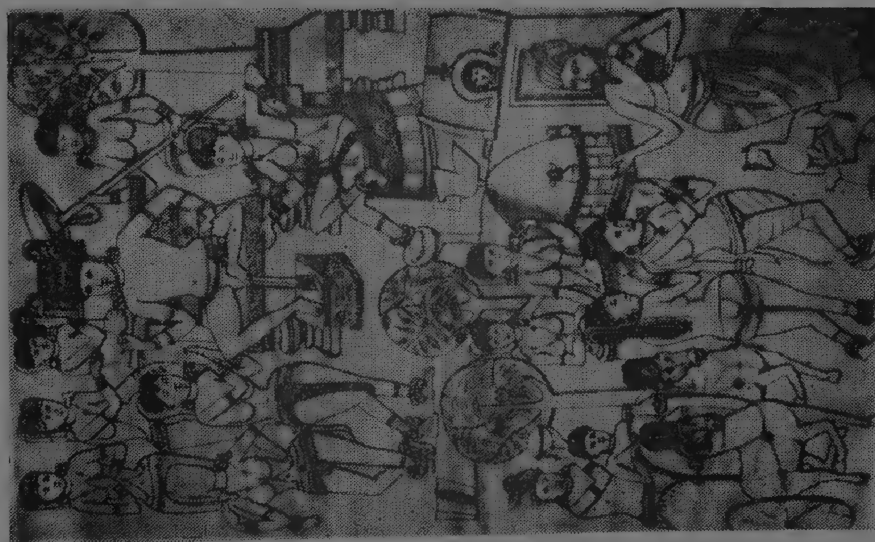
In essence the sculptor of that day presented to us in vivid way the realistic conditions of that society with a leading role for the lady.

□

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PLATE I



VILLAGE FOLK



PALACE GUARD

PLATE 'I
ORNAMENTS

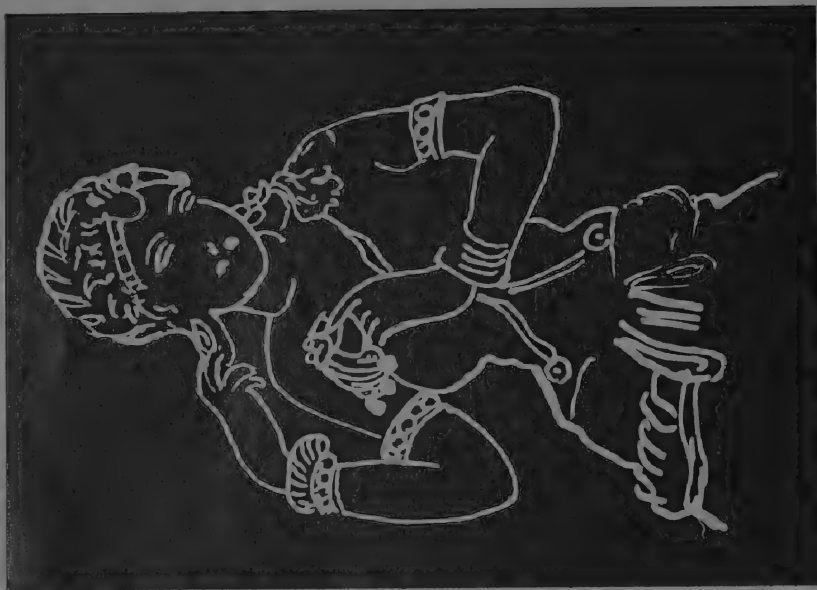


PLATE II

HAIR STYLES

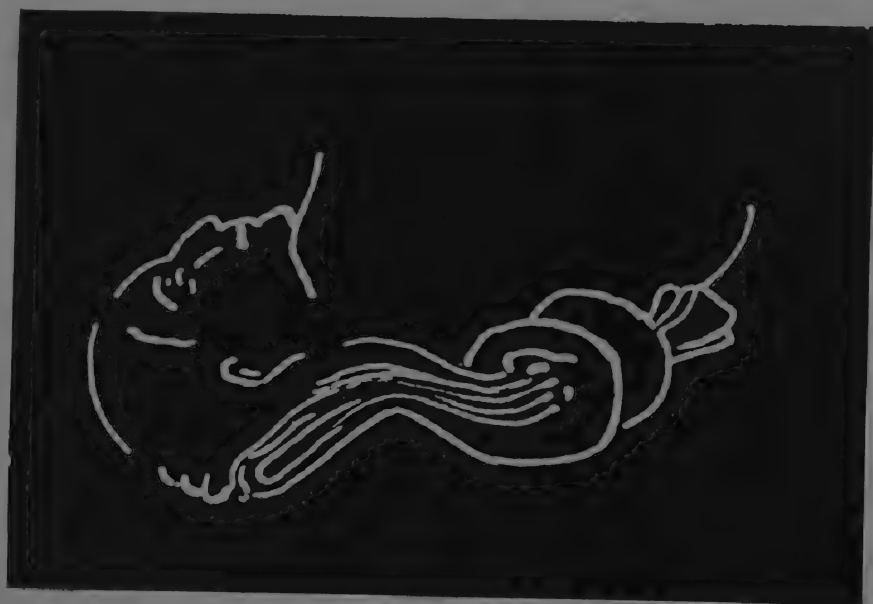
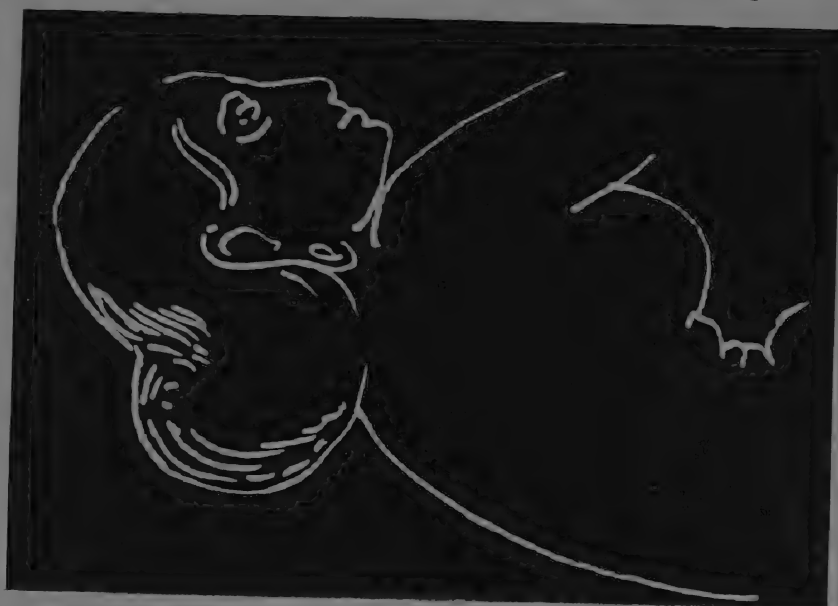


PLATE III



MAIDS



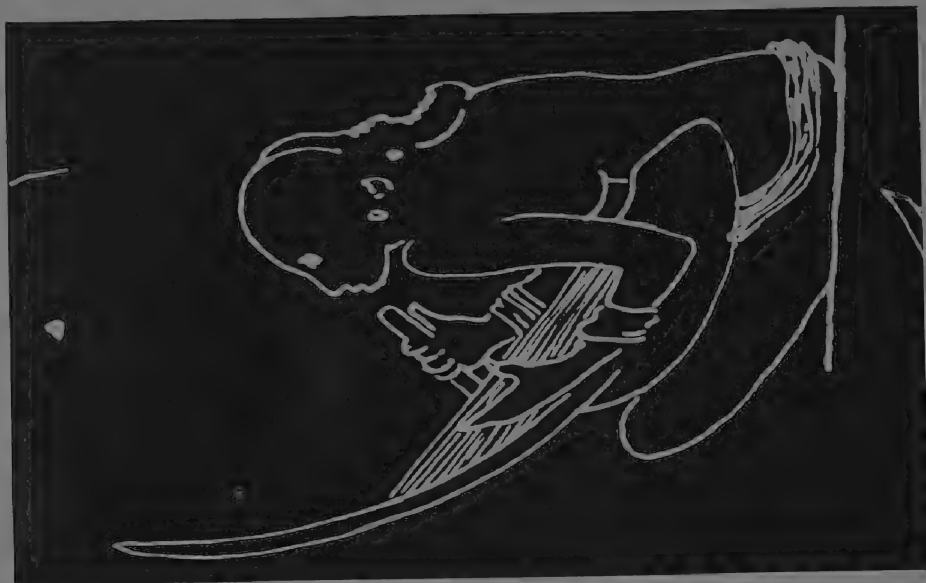
NAGINS



STREET SCENE



DANCING GIRL



PRAYĀGA - A NAME STUDY

DUBE, D. P.

Prayāga or Allāhābād (Lat. 25° 27' N. and Long. 81° 50' E.) is picturesquely situated in the heart of northern India, since the very dawn of civilization, at the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and invisible Sarasvatī. It is one of the most frequented places of pilgrimages, where countless pilgrims come yearly to take a bath in the purifying waves of the sister streams. Prayāga is described in the Epical and Purāṇic literature, and the later works, and the epigraphical records of the early medieval periods. The history and culture of Prayāga has, however, not received adequate attention it richly deserves by reasons of its antiquity, no less than its varied development and cultural greatness. It is intended in this paper to elucidate the etymological meaning of the word 'Prayāga' and to present an objective and critical study of the problem as to how Prayāga changed into Allāhābād.

I

सितासितै मरिते यत्र सङ्गते तत्राटलूतासो दिवमुल्पतान्ते ।
ये वै तन्व वि सृजान्ति धरिा स्ते जनासोऽयृतव भजन्ते ॥

“Those who bathe at the commingling of the fair and dark rivers— the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā – go to the celestial region; those of firm mind who cast off their bodies there, attain immortality.”¹

This R̥gvedic Khil Mantra makes a veiled reference to Prayāga by describing it as a place where the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā unite. This place of sitāsita-saṅgam came to be known as Prayāga in the later Vedic period.² The Mahābhārata mentions that this place came to be known as such because in the olden days Lord Brahmā, one of the Hindū Trinity, himself had performed a great Yajña there to recover the four Vedas from Śaṅkhāsura.³ This is the Madhya Vedī (the middle sacrificial altar) or Brahmā, out of five such Vedīs on the earth,

the other four being at Gayāśiras, Kurukṣetra, Viraea, and Puṣkara. This was the greatest of all sacrifices, as is signified by the preposition 'Pra'⁴. The Śabda – Kalpadruma confirms that it is called Prayāga because a great sacrifice was performed there.⁵ Mr. Tiwārī, from the study of some Jain sources, has opined that prior to the performance of the great sacrifice by Prajāpati, this place was known as Purimatā la or Puspabhadrapur.⁶ But how this priority has been maintained by him is not clear, as the Mahābhārata stands far older than the Jain literature.

Prayāga is known as Tīrtharāja,⁷ because it is most sacred in the three worlds and the foremost of all Tīrthas.⁸ It is believed that at Prayāga, whose praise has been sung by ṛṣis, there is the presence of gods with Brahmā at their head, Dikpālakas (guardians of the quarters), Lokapālakas (guardians of the world), Sādhyas (realised souls), Pitṛs (manes), Maharṣis like Sanatkumara and others, Nāgas, Chakracharas, Garuḍa, Siddhas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, the rivers, the sea, and the Lord Hari with Prajāpati.⁹ There in that Tīrtha the Vedas and the Yajñas live in embodied forms.¹⁰ There are six hundred million and ten thousand Tīrthas at Prayāg.¹¹ This sacrificial place is worshipped by the gods themselves.¹² This holiest of the holy spots is, therefore, indeed to be worshipped as the King of all the Tīrthas.¹³ The little, proudly asserted to the present day, was acknowledged by the great Rājā Bīrbal, who recorded his visit to Prayāga on the Allāhābād pillar of Aśoka in A.D. 1575.¹⁴ It acquired this title because according to a legend when all the holy shrines were placed on one scale of the balance and Prayāga on the other, the former kicked the beam.¹⁵ The superiority as Tīrtharāja of this place over all other Tīrthas undoubtedly makes it Prayagarāja. It is called Prajāpātikṣetra,¹⁶ Siddhakṣetra,¹⁷ and Bhāskarakṣetra.¹⁸ The three rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī (the last in its hidden form) meet there, and, therefore, this Tīrtha is known as Trivenī.¹⁹ Mystic significance is attached to the union. The triple flood reflects the union of the elements of the redeeming Omkāra, each river standing for a syllable of it.²⁰ One, who bathes in this world famous Trivenī, gets the merit of a Rājyasūya and as Aśvamedha together.²¹ Trivenī is also called Veṇī, because the Gaṅgā takes a turn there and bends like the veṇī (braided hair) of a woman.²² In the early Buddhist texts²³ the place is mentioned as Payāga, which is evidently the Pāli rendering of the word Prayāga. The Chinese pilgrim-traveller Yuan Chwang, who went there to attend the Quinquennial assembly of Harṣa in the seventh Century A.D., records it as Po-lo-

ya-ka,²⁴ which is an equivalent of the name Prayāga. The Muslim historians of the early medieval period refer to it as Piāg,²⁵ which is also identical to Prayāga. These evidence cut the very root of the belief, maintained in some circles,²⁶ that the name of the place owed its origin to a Brāhmin named Prayāga, who lived in the reign of the Mughal king Akbar in the sixteenth Century A. D. This belief has no historical foundation and hence should not be taken seriously.

II

The name Allāhābād,²⁷ was given to Prayāga by the Mughal Emperor Akbar who visited the confluence of the Gaṅga and the Yamunā at the close of A. D. 1582.²⁸ He was so impressed with the strategic importance of the site that he, at a propitious moment, founded a fort and ordered for the lay out of a city there to which he gave the name of Ilāhābād. This is evidenced by the testimony of the Muṇtakhabu-'T-Tawārīkh of Abdul Qādir Badāunī which records that His Majesty commanded a city and a fort to be built at Prayāga under the name of Ilāhābās, where the waters of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā Unite.²⁹ Nizāmuddin Ahmed in his Tabakāt-i-Akbarī says that on the 23rd of the month, A. H. 982 (A.D. 1584) Akbar reached Prayāga, which is commonly called Ilāhābād, at the confluence of the Gaṅga and the Yamunā.³⁰ Abul Fazl also states that Ilāhābād, anciently called Pṛāg (Prayāga), was distinguished by the Emperor by the former name.³¹ Akbar the Great, thus, changed the name of Prayāga to Ilāhābās or Ilāhābād, as it is also written on the coins³² minted thereby him and his successors. It is probable that in the Epical and Purāṇic times this sacred place was also famous as Ilāvās after the celebrated king Ila, the founder of Pratiṣṭhāna,³³ which is still an important sub-tīrtha under Prayāga.³⁴ In course of time this name receded into the background, but remained popular in the learned circle. When Akbar founded the new city in A. D. 1582, he revived this Hindū name of antiquity by giving it an Islamic colour. He adopted this name as the official designation of the new city, which is still in force. From the time of Akbar onwards the place came to be known by its new name i. e. Ilāhābās or Ilāhābād which subsequently became Allāhābād. It has, however, been suggested that the place came to be called as Alāhābād after Ālhā, one of the celebrated Banāfar twin-brothers of the Hindū-story.³⁵ This legendary view, not corroborated by any historical evidence, seems nothing but a mere conjecture, and, therefore, must be rejected for the sake of history. Incidentally, it was also called Faqīrābād, i. e. "Beggars' Town" dur-

ing the 18th-19th centuries, partly on account of its poverty, and partly on account of the great resort of Faqīrs and pilgrims.³⁶

III

The name Prayāga is, however, still used among the Hindūs, but denotes the scene of religious worship rather than city. It has, to some extent, been popularised by the adoption of the name for the station on the Allāhābād-Lucknow railway line in the early years of the twentieth century A. D.

Prayāga, from the Vedic Period, is one of the chief places of pilgrimages in the country, and in this respect is equal if not superior to Vārāṇasī, Mathurā, and Hardwār. It has remained the great centre of Hindū culture and civilization, and has been the confluence of many ideas and cultures. It claims to be Tīrtharāja or foremost of holy spots, and has been able to maintain its ancient celebrity and distinction uninterruptedly. The original name Vārāṇasī has been revived as the official name of Banāras in Free India. Even the original name Karnāṭaka has been restored to the state of Mysore. But no such change has been made in the name of Allāhābād. The acceptance of the original name Prayāga as the official name of Allāhābād will be a fitting tribute that Free India can pay to the greatness and glory of Tīrtharāja. □

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2. ŚB, XIII, 4, 5, II. 4, 5, 21.
3. चत्रायजत भूतात्मा रर्वमेव पितामहः ।
प्रयागामिति विख्यातं तस्माद् भरतसन्तभ ॥ MBH, III, 87,19.
4. 'Prayāgā' is a compound word, consisting of two parts ; namely 'Pra' and 'Yāgā'. The part 'Pra' means excellent. The part 'Yāgā' is derived from the root 'Yaj' which means to 'perform sacrifice'.
5. प्रकुष्टो यागो यत्र SK, 287.
6. PD, 25.
7. घन्तेधमितश्चामरच चारकान्तेसिता सितेयत्रसरि द्वरेण्ये ।
आगीवटरधत्राभिवति भातिसर्तार्थराजो जयति प्रयागः ॥ Padma, VI, 24,31
8. ततः पुव्यतभं नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत ।
प्रयाग सवतीर्थीभ्यः प्रवदन्त्यधिक विभो ॥ MBH, III, 85,79.
तीर्थराजसम तीर्थं न भाविष्यति । YT,2,6,168; Brahma, 1,59,21.
9. MBH. III, 85, 70-3.
10. Idid, 85, 77.
11. Ibid, 85, 84.
12. Ibid, 85, 82.
13. तथा सवेधु लोकेधु प्रयाग इजयेद बुधः ।
पूज्यते तथिराजस्तसत्यमेव धुधिवडरः ॥ Matsya, 109, 15.
14. HIH, V, 422; The inscription of Bīrbal on the Aśokan pillar runs thus : "The pilgrimage of Mahārāja Bīrbal, son of Gaṅgādās, to Śrī Tīrtharāja Prayāga on Monday, the fifth day of the Waning Moon, in the month of Mārgaśīraṣa in 1632 Saṁvat or 1492 Śaka (A.D. 1575) is successfully performed (hence) recorded.
15. ARP, 2.
16. Matsya, 104, 4; Kūrma, I, 34, 41; Bhāg., XII, 14, 30, X, 79, 10.
17. Kūrma, 1. 36, 81.
18. KKT, VIII, 149.
19. Tri, 8; HD, IV, 596.

20. KKT, Intro, IXXX; Tri., 8.
21. तत्राभिषेके यः कुमति संगमे लोकाविश्रूते ।
पूण्य स फलभाटनेति राजसूयाखमैधयोः ॥ MBH, III, 05,01.
22. II, I, 28.
23. Majjim, I, 7, 6, 10.
24. Watters, II, 235.
25. Sachau, I, 200.
26. AGI, I, 391.
27. There are four other places of the same name in the Śekhūpurā, Gujarānwālā, Lāyalapur, and Bhāwalapur divisions of the Punjab.
28. EA, II, 62.
29. Tawārikh, II, 179.
30. HIH, V, 375.
31. Āin, 253.
32. Preserved in the Allāhābād Municipal Museum, Allāhābād.
33. Rām., VII, 81, 22-3; Padma, I, 8, 124.
- ततः परिणते काले प्रतिष्ठानपतिः प्रभुः ।
पुहवस उत्सृज्य गां पुत्राय गतो वनम् ॥

Bhāg., IX, 1, 42.

Ila was Sudymuna, son of King Vrivaswata, who went to the forbidden area of the Kumāravana at Prayāga and was changed in to a woman. He was then called Ilā, and through Chāndra's son Buddha got a son named Purūravas. Ila worshipped Śiva who granted him the boon that he should become a man for one month and a woman for the next. Ila, however, was disgusted with this process, and handed over the kingdom to his son Purūravas and became an ascetic.

We should also note that the name 'Ilā' occurs several times in the R̥gveda (3,7,5; 53, 1; 55, 13; 4, 508; 10, 64, 11). But Ilā was a goddess in the early Vedic age.

34. Matsya, 106,6.
35. ADG, 196.
36. Travels, 119.

The Muslim historians of the late Mughal period refer to the existence of twelve dāirās and eighteen sarāis at Ilāhābād. Due to the abundance of these sarāis (Inns) and dāirās (hermitages of faqirs) of this place came to be called as such in the past. There is still a muhallah of the same name in the modern city.

VIJAYANAGAR INTEREST IN IRRIGATION FACILITIES IN CUDDAPAH DISTRICT, ANDHRA PRADESH

M. Krishnamurthy

Vijayanagar empire which was founded mainly to resist the onslaughts of Islam and to preserve ancient traditions of the land in all its entirety, did not lag behind in social welfare activities. One of the fascinating chapters of Vijayanagar history relates to the attempts made by the State and Public to overcome the difficulties of water supply and irrigation by constructing tanks, dredging canals, providing sluices and embankments to the existing water courses, etc. There are a large number of inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period in South India which speak volumes on the commendable attempts made during the period to tap the water sources for irrigation purposes. It is against this background an attempt is being made here, taking the modern Cuddapah district as a case study, to present a picture of irrigation facilities provided by the Vijayanagar kings based on relevant inscriptions available from the district.

Much of the area covered by the present Cuddapah district was under Udayagiri-rājya and Gandikota-śīma during the Vijayanagar period. The Sakali-śīma comprised the territory more or less equivalent in extent to the modern Badvel and Siddhavatam taluks. While Muliki-nadu included the modern Cuddapah and Proddutur taluks, the Poṭṭappi-nādu covered the area of modern Rajampet taluk and Marjavadi that of modern Rayachoti taluk. Pulivendla-śīma and Guṭṭi-śīma were the other ancient territorial divisions comprising portions of the modern district.¹

Cuddapah, due to its diversity in general configuration, soil formation and climatic conditions, inevitably follows various types of irrigation methods. For instance, the black cotton soil is suitable only to cultivate dry crops, since it is most unfavourable for construction of tanks. The Jammalamaduga taluk is characterised by such black cotton soil. Further east in the district, the soil tends to become more and more loamy thus increasing the chances for the cultivation of paddy, ragi and indigo. Thus in the Proddatur,

Cuddapah, Kamalapuram and Pullampet taluks which form the eastern division of the district, wet crops are increasingly seen in extensive areas. The Rayachoti taluk is marked by red soil and contains minimum of water sources. Cultivation here mainly depends on rainfall supplemented by well irrigation. Though the rivers like Pennār, Pāpaghni, Chitrāvati, Bahudānadi, etc., to mention only the major ones, flow through the district, the irrigation network is somewhat uneven.²

Thus even today Cuddapah district, characterised by less rain fall and hot weather, is considered to be a backward region in Rāyalaśīma inspite of the tremendous scientific development and technical know how available in the country. But as will be seen in sequel, the challenge thrown by the geographical setting of the district was skillfully faced by the local people in the Vijayanagar period with the ardent support by the Rayas and their subordinates.

The earliest inscription³ of the Vijayanagar kings mentioning the constauction of a tank is from Porumāmilla in the Badvel taluk of the district. The tank is even now a major water reservoir in the district. The inscription is dated Śaka 1291 (A.D. 1369) in the reign of Bukkaraya I and records the construction of the tank at Porumāmilla situated in the Śakillaśīma by Bhāskara *alias* Bhavadūra, son of king Bukka who was then the governor of Udayagiri (rajya).

The above record furnishes the information that the labourers who worked on the bund exceeded a thousand, among the workers were stone-cutters, architects, etc. More than one hundred transport vehicles were used to carry loads. The construction of the tank took more than two years for completion. The cost of construction was met with enormous cash and grains. It, on its completion, contained four sluices and the dam length was of 5,000 units of *rekha-dandas*.

The most interesting part of the epigraph is that which lays down the importance of tank construction in general. According to the record, the merit accrues in multiples of crores when one constructs water-trough (*prapa*), deep ring well (*kūpa*), stepped well (*vāpi*) and a tank (*padmākara*). The record invokes the protection of Īsvara (Śiva), Viṣṇu and Brahma for the longevity of the tank. In Vedic literature water is supposed to represent everything (*aoōvā-yadagum-sarvam*) Śiva himself is considered as a carrier of water

(Gangādhara), while Viṣṇu is said to have made water a messenger of life in and Brahma, born out of water (Jalaja i.e., flower). Hence the invocation of all the three is nothing but apt in the present context.

In the reign of the same king and during the governorship of the same Bhavadūra yet another tank was dug to the west of the village of Kaluchapalli in the Śakali-sima by two subordinates of the king named Desiya and Nagaya of the Gopalaka caste and their two sons.⁴

Another inscription⁵ from Indukuru, Kamalapuram taluk dated Saka 1308(A. D. 1386) in the reign of Devaraya informs us that a certain Irugamareddi Maramareddi caused the construction of the southern tank (at the village). Interestingly the same record also mentions details of *Prabhumānya* and *Dasāvamdha pārubadi*.

During the time of Sāluva Immadi Narasimharaya some time in Saka 1416(A. D. 1494) a tank was constructed (at Ravulakolanu, Pulivendala taluk) by Narasanāyaka, son of Kasavināyaka, the *kattiga* of Katari Sāluva Immadi Narasimha Mahāraya, after the name of his mother Kaveramma.⁶

The Chilamkūru record⁷ of Śaka 1433 (A. D. 1509) registers construction of a tank to the west of Mutyala Chilmukūr by the chief Chodaparāju Kalayya for the merit of his parents. In the present inscription it is explicitly stated that the chief caused the construction of a tank for obtaining some merit for his parents. But the same is implicit in other cases where individuals cause the irrigation constructions. It is to be noted in this context that Hemadri describes the merits that accrue by performing *jaladana*. *Jaladana* was considered as one of the *sapta-santanas* during the medieval period, if not still earlier. Many inscriptions of Kākatīyaa also attest to this popular tradition regarding the *jaladana*.^{7(a)} The next epigraphical evidence that we consider also goes to prove this.

The inscription⁸ is dated Saka 1501(A. D. 1579) in the reign of Śrirangadeva Mahārāya, ruling at Penukonda' and registers a gift of land made by one Kattamama Singarrājyya-Devachoda Mahārāja of the solar race for feeding brahmanas at Chadupurela in Gandhikota-Śima on the occasion of renovating the silted up channels. If it is of mere public welfare nature, there is no need to feed brahmanas.

Since the deed was of some religious significance it was done so. The Uppaluru inscription of Śaka 1534(A. D. 1612),⁹ the Dondapadu inscription of A. D. 1690,¹⁰ etc., also record the construction of tanks.

Another epigraph dated Saka 1443(A. D. 1521) in the reign of Krishnadeva Rāya records the arrangement for the repairs of the tank bund of Vanipemta in Ganji-sima(modern village of Vanipemta, Proddutur taluk). Further details of the arrangement have also been stated, but they are not clear. The Kodūru inscription of Sadasiva Rāya of Śaka 1471(A.D. 1549)¹³ is one such inscription which records gift of land for the upkeep of the tank bund.

Though tank irrigation was found largely suitable to the geographical setting of the district, the waters of the rivers were also not completely allowed to go waste. During the Vijayanagar period canals were also constructed. At Ravulakolanu in the Pulivendala taluk a canal named 'Katu Kaluv' was constructed sometime in Saka 1416(A.D. 1494) in the reign of Saluva Immadi Narasimharāya by Narnsānāyaka, son of Kasavināyaka, the *kattiga* of Katāri Sāluva Immadi Narasimha Mahārāya. after the name of his mother.¹⁴ The same person is stated to have constructed a tank in the same place in the same year. Perhaps, the canal was intended to feed the fields with the water of the said tank.

An interesting inscription of Achyutadeva Rāya dated Śaka 1452(A.D. 1530)¹⁶ from Kuchchupapa in the Proddutur taluk records the grant of *dasāvandhumānya* to certain persons of the village Kuchipapa for digging a canal probably in the stream (*antara ganga kālva*) by Mahanāyakachārya (*chāri*) Narasānāyanimgāru. The term *antara ganga* used in the inscription is noteworthy. It indicates that the seepage water through the river beds was tapped for irrigating lands. This is a simple but effective method especially when the rivers become dry in the summer seasons. Many of the present day river channels that exist in the district take their rise in spring heads excavated in the sandy river beds and often flow long distances in the bed or along the bank of the river.

Such river channels which draw water from spring heads in the river beds are prone to destruction when the stream or river is flooded in the rainy season. In such cases strenuous attempts were made to dredge the channels. An inscription on a boulder on the right bank

of the river Chitrāvali near the village Paranapalli (Pulivendala taluk) dated Śaka 1318 (A.D. 1397)¹⁷ gives the information that a canal was damaged and silted due to the floods of Chirēru and repairs were undertaken at the command of Irugapa Dannayāka Pulappa Vodaya by digging the obstacles. The case of renovation of a silted up channel for obtaining religious merit in A.D. 1597 has already been referred to.

The above account shows the volume of interest that was evinced by the Vijayanagar kings and noted public under them from A.D. 1369 to A. D. 1690 in providing irrigation facilities in the territory corresponding to modern Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh. Most of the period under review witnessed the consolidation of the Vijayanagar empire against the odds of severe opposition from within and without the empire. Moreover, Udayagiri-rājya was a battle ground between the Gajapatis and Vijayanagar rāyas. It changed hands often. In spite of the political turmoil the public welfare activity was not set aside completely by the Rayas.

The earliest Vijayanagar inscription which records tank construction in the district dates back to A.D. 1369 to the reign of Bukka I. The example of Bukka I was effectively emulated by the public in the subsequent period in tapping the water resources of the region. As pointed out by N. Venkataramanayya, "the Raya of Vijayanagar set the fashion of causing the tanks canals, etc and his ministers, officers, nobles and wealthy subjects followed his example. The empire was as a consequence provided with an irrigational system which satisfied all the requirements of the agricultural population".

Most of the inscriptions that deal with the construction and maintenance of tanks, canals, etc, seem to register only grants of lands. This shows that importance was given to the assignment of lands for the irrigation purposes in lieu of cash, indirectly fixing the responsibility of the upkeep of the irrigation construction on the beneficiary of the grant.

Such grants were usually called *Dasāvandhamānya* in inscriptions. This is variously explained.¹⁹ The most convincing explanation is that the *dasāvandhamānya* refers to land made tax-free and given to a private person for repairing or building of a tank or any other irrigation construction with the stipulation that one tenth of the total produce of the land would be the remuneration for the person

who maintains them. Obviously the remaining portion of the produce would be used to meet the expenses in connection with the maintenance of the water work.

Another interesting term is *Prabhumānya* which is mentioned in the Indukuru inscription of A.D. 1386. It may be a term which was used to indicate grant of tax-free land made to a *Prabhu* a village official.

As said earlier, the method of drawing water from excavated spring heads of the dry beds of streams and rivers is in vogue in the district even today. Such a practice was in existence even during the sixteenth century A.D. is brought to our notice by the Kuchupapa inscription. The above record incidentally points out that no method was left untried in the Vijayanagara days in order to overcome the difficulties in irrigation in the region. Almost all types of methods of irrigation that may be seen today in the district were attempted and practised by the people during the Vijayanagar period.

Lastly, a perusal of the above instances make one to draw an important lesson regarding the irrigation works. The Vijayanagar state encouraged the construction of irrigational network. Its encouragement was in the form of exemption of taxes and grants of tax-free lands. The society of those days regarded the construction of tanks, etc., as a meritorious deed of both religious and social significance. The Vijayanagar policy of irrigation was one that allowed the participation of the interested and generous individuals to a great extent. Irrigation constructions were never a monopoly of the state. In such circumstances, personal care for, and identification with, the cause of irrigational constructions by the local population were feasible. It is deplored that the discontinuation of the practice of *dasāvandha* grants is largely responsible for the ruin of many of the ancient irrigation constructions. This being so, one can not but admire the farsighted policy of the Vijayanagar rules. It is not out of place here to state that a detailed study of the irrigation systems of the Vijayanagar period in all its facets is a leading desideratum. □

NOTES

1. See Sastry, P. V. P. (Ed.) *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh—Cuddapah District* (Hyderabad, 1978), Part II, Introduction, p. vii.
2. Brackenbury, C. F. *Madras District Gazetteers. Cuddapah* (Madras, 1915), Volume I, p. 72.
3. Sastry, P. V. P. *Op. cit.*, No. 11, pp. 10-14; See also *Madras Epigraphical Report*, No. 91 of 1903.
4. *Ibid*, No. 14. pp. 17-19.
5. *Ibid*, No. 19, pp. 25-26; Also *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1935-36, No. 312.
6. *Ibid*, No. 54, pp. 63-64.
7. *M. E. R.*, 1904, No. 402.
- 7a *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. III, pp. 88ff; *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 13, p, 173 and see also Y. Gopala Reddi, 'Agriculture under the Kakatiyas of Warangal' *Itihas*, Volume I, No. 1 (1973), p. 57.
8. *A. R. E.*, 1937-38, No. 218.
9. *Ibid*, No. 285.
10. *Ibid*, No. 225.
11. Sastry, P. V. P., *Op. cit.*, No. 34, pp. 38-40.
12. *Ibid*, No. 84, pp. 103-05.
13. *A. R. E.*, 1937-38, No. 245.
14. Sastry, P. V. R., *Op. cit*, No. 53, pp. 63-64.
15. *Ibid*, No. 54, p. 63.
16. *Ibid*, No. 106, pp.132-34.
17. *Ibid*, No. 29, p. 34.
18. Venkataramanayya, No., *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (Madras, 1935), p. 188.
19. See Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 84 & 85.



THE BHAVANARAYANASWAMI TEMPLE OF SARPAVARAM-ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY

V. SUBBALAKSHMI

Sarpavaram is a small village 8 miles to Kakinada in East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh. The Kasikhandam, Bhimakhandam and Brahmandapurna, describes Sarpavaram elaborately and the Sthalapurana of the holy place is given in the Purana in a great detail. The Vishnu temple at Sarvaram is dedicated to the Lord who manifested himself in the name of Bhavanarayana. Bhavanarayana temple is the important place of worship in this place. The temple is said to be the one of the five well noted *Vaishnavite Keshtrams*. The other four are placed at (1) Bhavadevarapalle (East Godavari District), (2) Pattisam (West Godavari District). (3) Ponnur (Guntur District), (4) Bapatla (Guntur District). The temple of this place is an ancient one. The few inscriptions found in this temple indicate that the temple was built in the 13th Century A.D.

The temple is planned in the centre of a courtyard and is approached through a gate way. The Chaturatala vimana over the sanctum and the lofty tower on the north with eight stories is clearly of Chola origin and reminds us of the Chola temple at Kanchipuram. (The temple is a show piece of the perfect blend of the Chalukya and Chola style.) Most of the sculptures are to be found on the pillars in the big *mukhamandapa* of the temple. In the *mukhamandapa*, there are four rows of pillars six in each line. Each pillar has four faces. The images are depicted on the four faces.

The temple constitutes a veritable treasure house of architecture, sculpture and iconography. An attempt is being made in the following pages to study the peculiar iconographical features of some of the sculptures found on the pillars in the big *mukhamandapa*.

As is common in most of the Vishnu shrines, the sculptures depict scenes from the Vishnu mythology.

1) *Varaha* :

Varaha is the third of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. This

beautiful figure of Bhuvārāha is carved on one of the pillars in the mukhamandapa. In this panel the Lord is seated in Sukhasana. He is shown with four hands. The upper hands hold *Sankha* and *Chakra*, while one of the lower hands encircles his consort. Another hand is in *bhusparsamudra*. The ornaments consist of jewelled kirita, pearl necklaces, yajnopavita, udarabhandā and keyūras. The deity is seated erect and the bore head is facing straight. The Lord is accompanied by his consort, who is seated on his left lap.

The Varāha-form which is described in the *Vaikhānasagama*¹ has four hands and depicts the Lord in the act of lifting up of Bhudevi. This form is known as Bhuvārāhe. His right leg is slightly bent and rests upon the jewelled hood of the mythical serpent Adishesha. Of the four hands he should behold the *Sankha* and *Chakra* with the upper hands. The left hand should be shown as supporting the legs of Bhudevi, while the right hand is shown encircling the Goddess. The feet rest on the hood of Adishesha. Apart from the description found in the *Vāikhānasagama*, the *Silparatna*² gives a slightly different description. The God should carry in his hands, the gada, and the padma. The *Vishnudharmottaram*³ describes the Yajñavarāhamurti. He should be four handed and seated on a Simhasana with the right leg hanging down. He should be accompanied by Goddess Lakshmi on one side and Bhudevi on the other side. Of the four hands, two should carry *Chakra* and *Sankha*. The *Skandapurāṇa*⁴ describes the image of Varāha having four hands two of which holds the *Sankha* and *Chakra* and the other are in the *udhaya* and the *Varadamudra*.

The image of Varāha under our study deviates considerably from the description given in the *Silpa* texts. The *Vaikhānasagama* and *Silparatna* says that the image of Varāha should be in standing position and lifting up Bhudevi with his tusk. But in the present image, Varāha is either in standing position or lifting up the Bhudevi with his trunk. Here the Varāha image is depicted in sitting position and Bhudevi is seated on his left lap.

The present image cannot be identified with either of the two forms Yajñavarāha or Pralāyavarāh described in *Vishnudharmottaram*. Because in both these forms, sitting pose appears to be *Lalitasana*. Here Varāha sits in Sukhasana. It is also noteworthy that there is no provision of the *Bhusparasamudra* in Yajñavarāha or Pralāyavarāh

forms which have been provided in this image. The *Vishnudharmot-taram* again mentioned that the Yajnavaraha image should be accompanied by Lakshmi on one side and Bhudevi on the other side. In the sculpture under our study Lakshmi the consort of Varaha is conspicuous by its absence. But the icon is generally in accordance with the description laid down in the *Skandapurana*.⁵

Narasimha :

Narasimha is the fourth incarnation of Vishnu. A beautiful image of Narasimha is placed on the 6th pillar in the mukhamandapa. Narasimha is represented as sitting on a pitha hanging down his legs. While the left leg is slightly folded to the upwards. The God is represented in the anthropomorphic form with a human body and a lion's head. The face of the God is damaged. The God is four handed. The upper hands carry Sankha and Chakra. The lower hands are engaged in tearing out the entrails of the demon Hiranyakasipu. The demon is placed horizontally on the thighs of Narasimha. Even the demon Lord is provided with sword and shield indicating a challenging fight which preceded his defeat. The God's head is decorated with a jewelled kiritamakuta. The elongated ear lobes are decked with kundalas, and the body with graiveyakas, udarabhanda, nagakataka, mekhala and yajnopavita. (Plate No. 1)

The Sanskrit texts differ regarding the iconographical peculiarities of Narasimha images. According to *Matsyapurana*⁶ the image Narasimha should have eight hands and fierce face of a lion with thick mane. He should be shown as tearing out the entrails of the demon. Their legs should be inter-locked and the demon should be shown with a sword and shield attacking the demon. The *Agnipurana*,⁷ describes the four handed Narasimha. Of the four hands, two of his hands should hold *Sankha* and *Chakra* and he should be striking the bosom of the demon with his two front hands. The demon should be lying on his left thigh.

The *Silparatna* and *Vaikhyanasagama* gives a detailed description of the eight handed Narasimha images.

In the present sculpture Narasimha is four handed in accordance with the *Agnipurana* but not eight handed as prescribed by *Matsyapurana*, *Silparatna* and *Vaikhyanasagama*.

Beautiful images of Narasimha with four and eight hands, are represented at Udayagiri, Badami, Mahabalipuram and Ellora. But

the present Narasimha image is not in accordance with any of the above mentioned images.

Kevala Narasimha :

Kevala Narasimha is a God of peace, tranquility and yogi mediation.

On one of the pillars in the mukhamandapa of the temple the beautiful Kevala Narasimha is represented. Here the God stands in *dvibhanga* posture. He has four hands. The upper right hand carries the *Chakra* and the left hand *Sankha*. The lower right hand is damaged and the lower left hand is held in *bhusparasamudra*. The face of the image is badly damaged. The image is neatly decorated with a round shaped kirita, haras, udarabhandas, keyuras and a big necklace. One remarkable feature in this image is the absence of the demon Hiranyakasipu with whom he is closely associated. (plate No. 2)

The *Vaikhyanasagama*⁸ describes the single image of Narasimha as the Kevala Narasimha. The above Narasimha partly concord with description given in *Vaikhyanasagama*. Another remarkable point is that in the *Vaikhyanasagama* there is one provision of the *Bhusparasamudra* of the Kevala Narasimha from which have been provided in this image.

Two beautiful images of Kevala Narasimha have been found at in one of the Gupta terracotta seals and the another hails from Badami. In style and technique this image bears a very close resemblance with the Badami image of Kevala Narasimha.

Parasurama :

Parasurama is the first historical personage to be honoured as an avatara in the list of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. According to ancient Indian tradition Parasurama is mentioned as a great warrior who destroyed the entire Kshatriya caste by valour of his sword. It is more probable that he attained this name because of his association with Parasu.

A beautiful image of Parasurama is found in the Sarpavaram temple. The deity is seated in *Virasana*. He has two hands. The right hand carries a parasu and left hand is placed on the left knee. By the side of the image, a female figure can be seen. The head is decorated with a jatamakuta. The elongated ear-lobes are decked

with kundalas and the body with udarabhanda and yajnopavita and other ornaments.

The present image is two handed and carries a Parasu with the right hand as prescribed by Vishnudharmottaram,⁹ Agnipurana¹⁰ and Vaikhanasagama.¹¹ But there is much difference regarding the sitting position of the deity and position of the left hand. Generally the Parasurama images are depicted in standing form but here the image is seated in Virasana. This variety of image is not mentioned by the Silpa texts.

Sitting type of Parasurama images are found in the Ramalingesvara temple at Aihole and Ramesvara temple at Narasamangala in Mysore state. The Sarpavaram icon very closely resembles the two above mentioned images in many respects. But the Sarpavaram Parasurama is two handed whereas the Aihole and Narasimangala images are four handed.

Rama :

The seventh incarnation of Vishnu is Rama. The *Ramayana* describes Rama as the destroyer of Ravana.

The Sarpavaram temple presents two Rama Images. In one of them Rama is depicted as standing on a pedestal. He is two handed. The right hand carries *Kodanda* while the left hand is placed on the shoulders of Hanuman indicating his deep love towards his bhakta who is standing in front of him. Hanuman is depicted with hands poised with Anjali symbolising deep devotion to his Lord. The image is beautifully ornamented with all the usual ornaments. (Fig.3).

Another image of Rama is depicted in the company of Sita and Hanuman. In this panel Rama is seen standing on a pedestal. He is two handed and carries a *Kodanda* with the right hand which is broken. The left hand is placed on the knee. His consort stands by his side with one hand in *abhaya* and the other in *bhushparasamudra*. As a head-gear, Rama wears kiritamakuta, while Sita wears a simple ordinary plated knot. By the side of the deity Hanuman stands in Anjalimudra.

Here Rama, Sita and Hanuman closely correspond to the description given in the *Vaikhanasagama* with slight changes.

Govardhanagiridhari Krishna :

There are several modes of illustrating this Govardhanagiridhari Krishna. Krishna is the eighth of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The legend is recorded in the *Bhagavatapurana*.¹² Govardhanagiridhari Krishna represents other interesting childhood activities of Krishna. The sculpture depicting the theme of lifting up the mountain Govardhana by Krishna is generally styled as Govardhanagiridhari Krishna. Govardhanadhari Krishna signifying that Krishna lifted up the mountain Govardhana in order to rescue the people from heavy rains.

A beautiful relief of Govardhanagiridhari Krishna is placed in one of the pillars in the temple. Krishna is standing in Samapada Sthanaka attitude. The deity is two handed. Krishna is supporting the mountain by his up raised right hand, and blowing the Panchajanya with his left hand. The panchajanya is placed a bit upwards. Krishna turned his face towards the left side. His face is mutilated. He is ornamented with a necklace of rare beauty, *ratnakundalas*, jewelled *ndarabhandas*, doublebanded methala etc. His sikha is circular in form. The lower part of the body is decorated with a dhoti, the folds bends and ends of which are very beautifully delicately depicted. To his left and right sides are seen the cows whom Krishna sheltered under his protection. (Plate No. 4)

The figure of Govardhanadhari Krishna under our study deviates considerably from the description given in the Silpa texts.

In the present sculpture Krishna is not surrounded by the cowherds, and cowherdesses as prescribed by Silpa texts. Here Krishna is simply depicted with the company of two cows. Another notable feature in this figure is that the representation of Krishna with panchajanya. This is a very unique feature of the Sarpavaram Govardhanadhari Krishna. This feature neither found in the description given in the Silpa text nor in the reliefs of Govardhanadhari Krishna so far published.

A complete and detailed execution of the scene is found on the panels of Ellora cave No. 16, Badami and Mahabalipura stands in tribhanga posture. Here Krishna stands in Samabhanga posture. In the present sculpture, the Sarpavaram artist represented the central theme of this aspect of Krishna lifting up the mountain. He did not think it necessary to show the Gopikas, Gopalakas, cows and the

other animals. Thus the image is in many a way deviates from the Vaikhanasagama, Harivamsa, Vishnudharmottaram and Bhagavata-purana.

A complete and detailed execution of the scene is found on the panels at Ellora¹³ cave No. 16, Badami¹⁴ and Mahabalipuram.¹⁵

Venugopala :

The sculpture representing Krishna with a flute is generally styled as Venugopala is one of the beautiful forms of Krishna in which Krishna is conceived to be delighting the audience with his enchanting.

A fine sculpture of Venugopala is depicted in the temple. This is a piece de resistance in Vaishanava iconography comparable to the Nataraja in the Saivite iconography. The God stands in *tirbhanga* posture, standing erect with the left leg resting on the floor and the right leg is known across the clasp. The deity is two handed. The flute is held in both the hands, and one end of it is applied to the mouth. The head portion is ornamented with a bunch of peacock feathers and sikha is moulded in circular form. The image is beautifully decorated with jewelled yajnopavita, udarabanda, katisutras, majiras, double banded mekhala. The face is slightly damaged. (plate No. 5)

The Silpa texts give us valuable information regarding the iconographical details of Venugopala. According to the *Vaikhanasagama* and the *Harivamsa*, the image of Krishna is made to stand erect with the left leg resting on the floor and the right leg is thrown across. He should be two-handed and hold the flute in both the hands and one end of it is applied to the mouth. The head should be ornamented with a bunch of peacock's feathers. There should be three bends in the body. He should be surrounded by cow-herds and cow-herdesses.

In the present sculpture Venugopala is not surrounded by cow-herds and cowherdesses. But the image under our study is generally in accordance with the rules laid down in the *Vaikhanasagama* and *Harivamsa*.

Two beautiful images of Venugopala have been found at Halebidu and Hoyasala. In the Halebidu image the God stands in *tribhanga* pose and a flute held in both the hands. The Hoyasala Venugopala is also two handed and stands in *tribhanga* posture. The Sarpavaram icons are very closely resembles the above two mentioned

images in many respects. Here Venugopala is standing in tribhanga posture like that of Halebidu and Hoyasala. But in the Halebidu and Hoyasala the God stands under a Tamala tree, but in the present image the Tamala tree is absent.

Balarama ;

The worship of Balarama seems to be very ancient. The cult of Balarama is the most important in the early centuries before Christian era. Balarama does not occupy a prominent place among the avataras but he is an important member of the Chaturvyuha.

The temple presents a beautiful and interesting Balarama image. He is standing in sampada sthanaka attitude. The deity is two handed. The right hand is holding plough and the left hand shows *bhusparasamudra*. The plough symbolise his association with the land and cultivation. The head is decorated with a round shaped jewelled kiritamakuta. The ears are decked with kundlas and the body with graiveyakas, udarabhandas, mekhala, and a yajnopavita. The lower garment of the deity is extended upto the ankles and its folds and bends are very clearly represented by incised lines.

All the Sanskrit texts mention that the image of Balarama should hold a plough-share and a pestle. The *Brihatsamhita*¹⁶ says that the two handed Balarama should have a plough share in his hand. The *Vishnudharmottaram*¹⁷ and *Agnipurana*¹⁸ also mentions about the two handed Balarama with plough-share and pestle. The *Vaikhana-sagama* says that the Balarama should have the hair on the top head tied up in a knot on the top.

As is mentioned in the *Brihatsamhita*, *Vishnudharmottaram*, *Agnipurana* and *Vaikhana-sagama* in the present sculpture Balarama is depicted with two hands and holding the plough with the right hand as prescribed by the Silpa texts, but the change lies in the case of left hand. The *bhusparamudra* which shows the right hand of the Sarpavaram Balarama is neither mentioned in the Silpa texts nor found in the extant examples. Another point is that here Balarama image is adorned with round shaped ratnakirita instead of knot over the head as prescribed by *Vaikhana-sagama*.

Kalki ;

Kalki is the last of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. This incar-

nation has not yet come to this earth. It is predicted to come about by the end of the *Katiyuga*.¹⁹

According to the *Vishnudharmottaram*,²⁰ Kalki should carry the dhanus and the bana and should ride on a horse. The *Vaikhana-sagama*²¹ says that Kalki should have the face of horse and the body of man with four hands carrying Sankha, Chakra, Khadga, and Khetaka. He should possess a terrific look. The *Agnipurana*²² mentions that Kalki should carry the dhanus and the Bana and should ride on a horse.

On one of the pillars in the temple the figure of Kalki is illustrated. The Kalki is depicted as riding on a horse. He has two hands. The right hand is holding a sword and left hand holds the reins of the galloping horse. The head portion is decorated with a circular type of kirita and other ornaments. The face is mutilated.

He is shown two handed in accordance with Vishnudharmottaram and Agnipurana but not four handed as prescribed by the Vaikhana-sagama, Kalki is shown holding neither dhanus nor bana with the two hands as required by the Silpa texts. Another notable feature in the present sculpture is that Kalki is depicted in human form, and not shown with a face of horse and the body of man as required by the Puranas.

Nara-Narayana ;

Nara-Narayana are two Saints who are always associated together. They are the sons of *Dharma* and *Ahimsa*. They spread the message of divine love and devotion. The story of Nara-Narayana is narrated in the *Bhagavatapurana*.²³

The Nara-Narayana panel occurs in one of the pillars in the mandapa of the temple. In this present sculpture two figures are sculptured in close proximity. One of them is sitting while the other is standing. The sitting is figure identified as Narayana and the standing one as Nara. Both of the images are having two hands. Narayana is seated in Virasana on a pedestal and has the right hand in Vyakhayanamudra. His left is slightly bent and his left hand is placed on the left thigh. In respect of Nara, the right hand shows abhayamudra and the left one holds gada. Both Nara and Narayana are beautifully decorated with a peculiar head-gear, Kundalas, Graiveyakas, Yajnopavita, udarbhandas, kankanas, haras. The lower part of the

deities are decorated with a *dhoti*, the folds and bends of which are very delicately depicted. (plate No. 6)

The *Vishnudharmottaram*²⁴ give us some interesting details regarding the iconographical features of Nara-Narayana. It states Nara should have two hands, while Narayana has four hands. Between these two should be sculptured Badari tree, bearing fruit. They should be clad in deer skin and wear the jatmandalas. Both of them should carry rosary and possess *damaru*. Their matted locks of hair should be tied in a top-knot on the head. It also mentions that they should be seated in a chariot having eight wheels with their legs crossed, with one of the feet in the chariot and the other behind it.

Iconographically the above mentioned sculpture of Nara-Narayana completely deviates from the description given in the *Vishnudharmottaram*. In the present sculpture Nara and Narayana are not depicted as seated on a eight wheels chariot under a Bhandari tree. The Purana mentions the stated images of Nara-Narayana. But here Narayana seated on a simple stone pedestal while Nara is standing. Narayana is having only two hands and also not holding any emblems. They are not decorated with Jatamandalas. While depicting this panel the sculptor made his own changes.

The sculpture representing Nara-Narayana are extremely very rare. However, T. N. Ramachandra illustrated a beautiful Nara-Narayana panel found at Deogarh.²⁵ The Nara-Narayana panel under our study has certain peculiar iconographical features. It is neither in accordance with the Silpa texts nor with the extant example.

Hayagriva :

Hayagriva has a very ancient origin though a very minor incarnation. According to the *Devi Bhagavatam*²⁶ a Baksha called Hayagriva received a boon that he would not be killed by men or beast. After receiving the boon, he started troubling the Gods. The Gods went to Devi and asked her help. She directed them to Vishnu and asked the God to request him to be born upon earth with the face of a horse and the body of a man, to kill the Raksha. The Gods prayed to Vishnu accordingly and pleased with them, Vishnu incarnated himself in a form that was of half horse and half man, and known as Hayagriva. Hayagriva destroyed the Raksha of the same name.

A very beautiful and rare image of Hayagriva is found in the temple. As the name indicates the form of this image should be half-human and half animal. The sculptor rendered it in a very stylistic and impressive manner. The deity is seated on a stone pedestal in *Lalitasana*. In order to identify this image as Hayagriva, the face which resembles that of a horse is sufficient, even though the nose and the mouth of one is slightly damaged. He is four handed. The upper hands carry Sankha and Chakra. A female figure is placed on his right lap. He places his right lower hand around her waist to support her. While the left hand places on a devotee who is seated on the Gods to right lap is identified as Lakshmi. She carries a lotus flower with her left hand while the right hand hangs down. The God is beautifully ornamented with a pearls, kirita, big necklaces, Yajano-pavita kurkanas, keyuras etc. He has big ears like that of a horse. (Plate No. 7).

The *Vishnudharmottaram*²⁷ mentions about the eight handed variety of Hayagriva. He should carry the Sankha, the Gada and the Padma. With the four hands and the remaining four hands should be placed upon the heads of the personified forms of the four Vedas.

The representation of Lakshmi on the right lap of the Hayagriva is a very unique feature of the Sarpavaram Hayagriva. In extent images, generally we find Hayagriva without the consort. The *Vishnudharmottaram* also does not mention about the association of Hayagriva with Lakshmi. The purana mentioned about eight handed Hayagriva. But here the image is four handed and also not holding padma and gada in any of his hands, except Sankha and Chakra. Hayagriva images with the consort Lakshmi is familiar in Mysore region. In style and technique this image bears a very close resemblance with the Mysore image of Hayagriva. The iconographic representations of Hayagriva are very rare.

Adimurti :

Adimurti is one of the important forms of Vishnu. The temple represents a beautiful, interesting and unique figure of Adimurti. Though the figure is a small one it presents all the required qualities. Vishnu in the form of Adimurti is seated on the coils of Adishesha. He is seated in Padmasana. He is having four hands. The upper right hand holds a Sankha, and the upper left hand holds a Chakra. The lower right hand is in tarjanimudra and the lower left is damaged. The three hooded Adishesha is depicted over the Gods head. The God

is neatly decorated with circular type kiritamakuta, ratnakundalas, graiveyakas, yajnopavita, udarabhanda, keyurakataka etc. The face of the God is damaged. (plate No. 8)

The Vaikhanasagama,²⁸ give a good reference about the image of Adimurti. According to this *Agama* the God should seated on Ananta with the right leg folded and the left one hanging down. The right hand should be placed on the right knee and the right hand on the thigh. The other two hands should carry the Sankha and Chakra. The serpent should have either five or seven hoods. He is adorned with ornaments and flanked by Bhrigu and the Risis and Shankara.

In the present sculpture, Adimurti is not surrounded by Bhrigu and the Risis as prescribed by Vaikhanasagama. He is not shown seated in Virasana. The four handed image holds *Sankha* and *Chakra* with the two hands as mentioned by the Agama but the position of the other two hands are depicted in a different way. The text stated about the five or seven hooded Adisesha. But here in the present sculpture the Adisesha is depicted only with three hoods. Thus the image, in many a way, deviates from the *Vaikhanasagama*.

This image recalls similar figures of Adimurti from Badami and Aihols.²⁹ □

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PLATE I

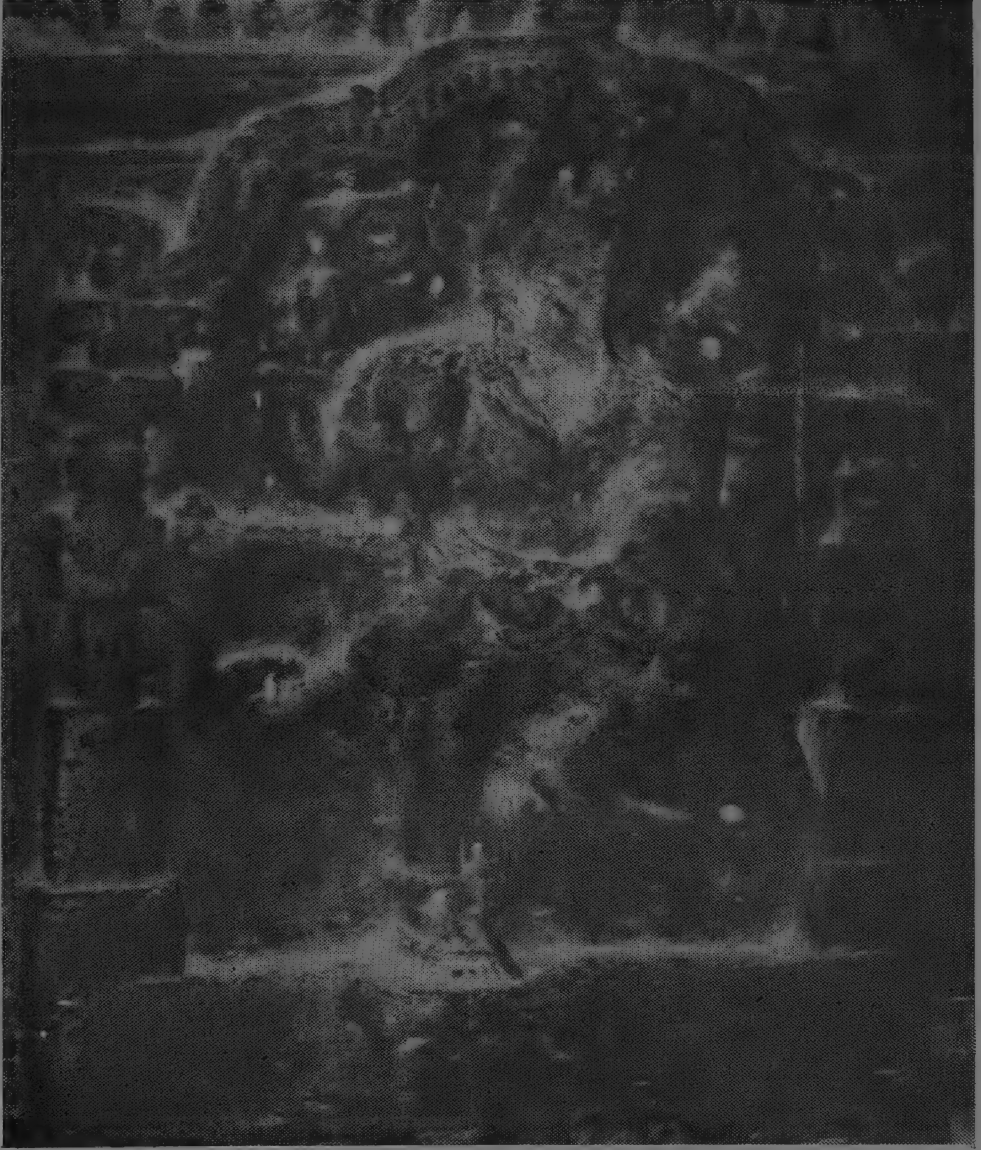


PLATE II



PLATE III



PLATE IV



PLATE V



PLATE VI



Itihas Volume IX and X

PLATE VII.



PLATE VIII



Series on Administrative Land Scape

ADMINISTRATION UNDER QUTUB SHAHI'S - AN OVER VIEW

R. PARTHASARATHY I.A.S.,

The picture of administration becomes clear in Abdul'l-lah's reign under the rays of historical Research. The pivot of the central Government was the Sultan who was the repository of all powers. The Sūltan's position was propped up by bounteous wealth that poured into the treasury. Abdul-lah was given to gaiety but he was conscious of his shortcomings. There was a 'Majlis-i-Kingash' or Advisory Council which was periodically summoned by the Sultan to advise him on intricate state matters. Perhaps to keep up appearances he gradually entrusted the administration to his ministers.

ADVISORY COUNCIL :

In the time of Abdullah the Advisory Council blossomed into a regular Majlis-i-Diwandari or Privy Council. The '*majlisis*' or Councillors merited their appointment by virtue of their public service. Nobility and title-holders also membered the majlis. The king ordinarily presided over the Majlis.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS :

The head of the administration was the 'Peshwa'. The office of the Peshwa was a legacy of the Bahmanis. Next in authority came the Mir-Jumla. Peshwa had other ministers to help him in his day-to-day duties. Their rank was inferior to that of the Peshwa. The Khazanadar who had full charge of the treasury had nothing to do with other matters of the State. Ministers were held high in public esteem and were individually entitled as *DHI Shaukat* (His Eminence). The senior most of them was called Aminu'l-Mulk. There was a minister in charge of the military affairs. The Jagirs of ministers were situated away from the capital.

BUREAUCRACY :

In the order of precedence the Dabiru'l-Mumalik (Chief Secretary) and the Dabir-i-Faramin-i-Hindawi (Secretary in charge of the Hindawi-farmans), constituted the top layers of administration. Hindawi may mean non-Persian or Telugu farmans, as the farmans issued were bilingual. The office of the *Dabir* was called *Diwan-i-Insha*. The *Dabir* noted on the petitions and drafted the farmans which however, had no significance without the Royal seal. Probably he also had some judicial work to perform, for the English called him Lord Chief Justice. There was a *Majmu'ahdar* or Accountant General, an office which was sometimes combined that with of the *Hindawi dabir*.

LAW AND ORDER :

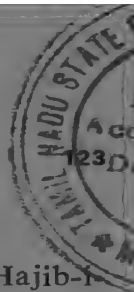
Kotwal or Commissioner of Police was the Chief and important functioners of the police. His main function was to keep law and order in the capital. He was also the Master of the Mint and Supreme Judge of the city in certain matters. The 'Qazi' dealt mostly with civil cases.

Sarkhel was the chief revenue officer located at the capital but having jurisdiction over the province. As the head of the Revenue Department he had authority over the European trade in the east coast, and he could tilt the balance for or against them, according to the policy pursued.

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT :

The unit of local Government was the *Simt*, and the officer in charge of it was called the *Sarsimt*. The *hawaldar* collected local taxes. The office of the *hawaldar* was auctioned or farmed. Though he was generally supervised by *Sarsimt*, he enjoyed independent status. He was held in high esteem by the European factories and was called a Governor. He decided petty cases of taxation in addition to the collection of revenue.

The chief port officer was called the *Shah-Baudar*. He exercised great authority over the port towns, and in the early days of the Qutub Shahi rule, he guaranteed the safety of the merchandise. The *Shah-Bandar* and the *hawaladar* of Masulipatam prohibited the Dutch from being inimical to the English.



DIPLOMACY :

There were two distinct categories of envoys, namely, Hajib-i-Muqimi or permanent ambassador and Jajib-i-Maslihati or envoy with some specific mission. The Dutch and the English representatives at the capital were known as Agents or Residentiaries, but they did not enjoy diplomatic immunity.

In addition to the Mughal ambassadors at the capital, there were the envoys of the Royal and 'Exalted court' of Aurangzeb, the Viceroy of the Deccan, and his son, Prince Azam. They were accorded almost the same honours as the Mughal ambassadors. The authority of the Mughal ambassador increased with the Deed of Submission of 1636, and he was found issuing commands, granting passports and speaking and acting like a sovereign. The ambassador of Iran was sometimes entitled Hajib-i-Azimu'sh-Shan (Ambassador of Great Eminence), and had precedence over the Jughal envoy till 1636.

ARMY AND FORTIFICATION ;

The picture of military organisation in the time of Abdullah Qutub-Shah is much more distinct than in the time of his father. The army was based partly on feudal levies and partly on paid mercenaries. Thevenot says that the feudal lords were paid for five lakh troops. A trooper was paid ten 'chequins' a month to keep two horses on his own account. Tavernier says that most of the soldiers had their hair tied in a knot at the top of their head indicating they were Hindus. Their Chief Weapon was a broad sword and a musket. Horseman carried bows and arrows, a buckler, an axe, a helmet and a jacket of mail. When there was a danger of foreign invasion, the border forts were issued quilted cloaks, coats of mail, helmets and armlets. Strict discipline was enforced and soldiers who were found negligent of their duties were executed. The chief forts of the kingdom were furnished with parks of artillery and catapults for throwing stone missiles. Forts like kondapalli and quite a number of wells, tanks, fruit trees, and large rice fields, while Gandikota fort had rice and millet fields watered by local springs.

In 'Abdul'l-lah's reign there was a whole 'plethora' of coins. The establishment of European factories on the east coast, better communications and trade with neighbouring kingdoms, expansion of the Mughal power which acted as an economic liason between different parts of India, and the diamond trade, with its centre at Golkonda

were some of the reasons for finding these coins in the kingdom. Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Venetian, English, French, Persian, Gujarati, Mughal and Vijayanagara coins were in use in the coastal towns and Hyderabad. The copper coins had a legend of the Sultan. The Mughal rupee served as a standard silver coin and the Vijayanagar *hon* as a standard gold coin. Complexity was created by the licences given by the Sultan to the Europeans to coin rupees and *hons* with their own emblems. To make matters worse the value of *pagoda* or *hon*, in terms of rupee and smaller coins, changed from place to place. There was also variation in the value of the so called new and old *pagodas* due to difference in the weight of the gold coined. Some kind of regularity was, however, maintained by minting the Mughal rupee at Golkonda under the Deed of submission of 1636. The copper coins minted in Abdullah's time bore the insignia of Hyderabad, Muhammadnagar and "Daru's Saltanat Hyderabad" on the obverse. One of the specimens has the impress of the Shi'ite emblem, the 'alam, on the reverse along with the name of the mint. There is also a dated copper coin of 1068/1657.

FLOURISHING DIAMOND TRADE :

Besides the vast output of diamonds in the Krishna valley, Golkonda, was the emporium for diamond trade. Diamonds were weighed by *mengalins* (also called *ghumchi*) which were seven grains at Ravulakonda and 5.3/5 grains in some other pit heads, precious metals and jewels were weighed by the *rattis* at the rate of 96 *rattis* to *tola*.

The unit of weight of other articles was 'seer', but it varied from place to place and from article to article. The *man* is equated with 24½ lb. at Pulicat, 27½ lb. at Nizampatnam and 26 lb. at Machilipatnam where it sometimes rose to as much as 36½ lb. Twenty *mans* made a candy which also varied from port to port.

The linear measures were the cubit, and the yard which corresponded probably with two cubits. Distance was measured by the *kos* which worked out to eight miles per five *kos*.

PRODUCTS AND MANUFACTURES :

i) PRECIOUS STONES :

The largest diamond mine in the Quth-Shahi dominion was at

Kolluru on the Krishna and the area was full of raw diamonds. The mines were leased out at a rent of 3 lakhs *pagodas* for small diamonds and a higher rate for larger ones. When Tavernier visited Kolluru, thirty thousand men were at work, and many of the precious stones dug were above 40 carats. He speaks of a huge diamond of '900 carats' which Mir-Jumla presented to Aurangzeb when he joined his court. It was these mines which produced the renowned Kohi-Nur' which was presented to Shah Jahan by Mir Jumla and now forms the brightest diadem of the crowning jewel. Other precious and semi-precious stones like garnet, amethyst, topaz and agate were produced in the kingdom, but pearls were imported from Persia.

ii) TEXTILES :

The east coast was dotted with ports from where textiles were exported to Europe and the East Indies. Machilipatnam was the most important of these. Srikakulam was noted for muslin export, while Rajahmundry produced fine cloth. Machilipatnam was the centre of *Kalemenda* cloth i.e., cloth painted with qalam or fine pen, while the Dutch factory at Pulicat manufactured cloth, painted, fine-textured or plain. There was much demand for Indian-made cloth by the English, the Danes and the Moors. The Dutch even complained against the tight regulations on cloth trade in the 1603s.

Narsapur (West Godavari District) was a centre of ship-building industry, and this was made possible owing to the iron ore available in proximity and the nearness of forests of red sanders needed for ship-building.

IMPORTS :

Lead from England, broadcloth from France, horse from Uzbekistan, Arabia, Persia and Ethiopia, dried fruit from 'Bukhara' and Persia, cowries and ambergris from the Maldives, porcelain from China, pearls from Tuticorn and Bahrain, and cloves and cinnamon from Ceylon were on the 'port folio' of imports. Ships laden with articles like quicksilver, vermilion, gold and silver ingots, iron cannon and articles meant for presents came principally from the west. Saltpetre, which was demand for the manufacture of gunpowder, was imported from Bengal.

PRICE LEVELS :

The price levels obtaining in Abdu'l-lah's time are available,

and the market prices of daily needs of life are interest compared to present times. In terms of rupees, 40 to 60 seers of rice cost a rupee. 20 seers of wheat or 20 seers of butter, could be bought for a rupee. An ox for 4 or 5 rupees and a goat for about 60 paise were available. The imported articles were comparatively expensive. Pepper cost Rs. 125 for 240 seers, cloves Rs. 25 to 45 for the same weight, lead Rs. 77 to 90 and quicksilver Rs. 100 to 112 per maund. Raw and twisted China silk were sold by weight, at Rs. 180 to 202 per 12 seers of the former and Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ per seer of the latter. Eight hens cost twelve pence. Iron and steel were sold at two to three shillings per hundred weight at Kolluru (mines).

TAX POLICY :

An important source of revenue was the duties levied on import and export, and tax on diamonds. The Dutch were more favoured at Hyderabad because of their hostility to the Portuguese, who were disliked for their rapaciousness and proselytising zeal. They had to pay only $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ on import and export, and were exempt from stamp duty amounting to 11%. In 1613, the Dutch, at Hyderabad were able to compound all import and export duties by a lump sum payment of 3,000 *pagodas*. The English succeeded in getting a 'Farman' from 'Abdu'l-lah Qutub Shah only in 1636 which authorised their trade in the Qutub Shahi kingdom on payment of an annual lumpsum amount.

TENANCY :

The Qutub Shahis relied for their revenue on land and *peshkash*. Agricultural land was farmed out to the highest bidder, and there was a whole range of sub-leasing right up to the actual tiller. The right to collect revenue was not hereditary, and the farmer had the right to collect rent from the sub-tenant only. Land revenue was paid both in cash and kind.

There was a flow of what the European factors called presents or considerations which were a kind of *peshkash* for the work done. The English made a present of 6,000 *pagodas* for obtaining the said Farman in 1636.

Octroi was levied on tobacco and salt, and abkarī on the fermented juice of date-palm which abounded in the kingdom.

SHIP-BUILDING :

The country round Machilipatnam was full of wood which was used for building sea-worthy vessels. A Qutub Shahi ship was manned by 106 people and the capacity of this ship was above average, i.e., between 200 and 400 tons. The passage money for a traveller on a state-owned Qutub-Shahi ship was nearly one-third of the vessels owned by Europeans.

COMMUNICATIONS ;

The centre of communications on land with the kingdom and the neighbouring kingdoms was Hyderabad. From here arterial roads led to different capitals and ports. Some of the important ports like Machilipatnam had two roads to Hyderabad-one straight, and the other looping to connect other important inland towns. The road from Surat passed through Daulatabad, Aurangabad, Parbhani and Nanded right up to Indur (Nizamabad.) Indalwai was the last principal stage in Telangana. From there it made a 'detour' to Medchal, and passing through Maula-Ali, it entered Hyderabad via Hussain Sagar and 'Purana Pul'. Another trunk road entered the Qutub Shahi territory near Kohir and reached the capital after crossing the Esi.

The trunk road from Hyderabad to Machilipatnam branched off in two directions at Panagal, one going direct to Bandor-i Mubarak, (as Machilipatnam was then called) and another *via* Kolluru. The latter was more frequented and in better condition. The road to Panagal, more or less, followed the alignment of the present Nalgonda road and passed by a town named Tcnara. Most of the places mentioned on the direct road to Muchilipatnam are not located on the present highway. From Kolluru a road connected Vijayawada after crossing a tributary of the Krishna. While each of the stages between Hyderabad and Kolluru was of eight to fourteen *kos* ;:- the stages between Vijayawada and Muchilipatnam were much shorter because the route was through deltaic and rocky area, and sometimes passengers had to alight at villages or towns in between.

There was a road running direct from Vijayawada to Madras. It followed more or less the railway track, though it took a 'detour' at places such as Kondavidu, Kandukur and Pulicat. There was also a road from Machilipatnam to Srikakulam following the modern railway line. An important road connected Hyderabad with the Ramallakota

diamond mines near Kurnool. It took off at Golkonda and through to Alampur connected Kurnool (then in Bijapur kingdom) and Ramallakota.

Transport consisted of single or double-domed luxury carriages or *rathas* drawn by oxen, modest ox-carts, horses (used by middle class people), and palanquins (used by elite). Goods were carried in *Chhakras* which were also called *bandis*. In all vehicles there was a kind of hammock attached at the bottom for carrying grass and small luggage. The modest cart was drawn by two open but sometimes even ten or twelve oxen were yoked to a single cart when cart had to negotiate difficult terrain or carry heavy baggage. There were no bridges except in big towns, and rivers had to be crossed over stone causeways or by ferries. Caravans consisting of carriages, horses and carts were an order of the day.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS :

Not much evidence is to be given to Tavernier's statement that in the Qntub Shahi kingdom there were no physicians except those who attended on the Royal family ; For, the hospital Daru'sh-Shafa had already been founded in 1595. He also says that in great cities there were persons who treated patients and did not charge any fee. This connotes that they were paid for by the State and some kind of health security scheme was in vogue.

Not only were Yunani and Ayurvedic systems of medicine popular, but allopathic system had also crept in. Some of the treatments offered by doctor seem rather quaint, but were efficacious.

DRESS :

There was a mixed influence of Vijayanagara and Mughal Delhi in so far as dress and costumes of people were concerned. Among men, (both of Hindus and Muslims) the *kulah* and the *qaba* were the common attire while among women the six yards cloth was generally worn over bodice with half sleeves. There was also an alternative dress consisting of a *dopatta*, four and a half yards long, tucked to a *paijama* which was kept in check by a girdle.

The affluence of the region enabled the people to have rich ornaments. Men wore ear-rings, and some had strings of pearls round their necks. Six or eight ear-rings adorned each ear of women.

Finger rings, toe rings, gold and silver waist bands, armlets and anklets, and a ring or a jewel (basari) in a hole pierced through the right nostril and sometimes on the bridge of the nose, were the jewellery worn by women.

FESTIVITIES :

The Sultan participated in festivities connected with the Birthday of the Prophet and the martyrdom of Iman Husain in Muharram. He laid great stress on the regimen prescribed during these celebrations. Wine, meat, trimming hair and betel were prohibited during the observance of Muharram. The first ten days of Muharram were held sacred by the Hindus and Muslims alike. An essential appendage to the Muharram celebrations was the 'Langor' Procession to commemorate the safe return of Prince Abdu'llah, after a week-long straying on a rogue-elephant when he was a young. The birthday of the Sultan was celebrated with great 'eclat' in the month of Shawnal when dancers from all parts of the state joined to make the occasion gay. Flowers, scents, betel and condiments were freely distributed to the concourse of people who gathered.

CONCLUSION :

The Qutub-Shahi administration was an autocracy tempered by Ministerial advice. There was evidence of all round prosperity and Industry and trade was flourishing, Religious observance was catholic. Those were the hey days of a matrix of cultures of what has come to be called 'Dakhni-Culture', which is even now characteristic of Hyderabad or 'Aidar-Abad', as it was then called. □



BOOK REVIEW

ओ नमः उग्राचा च भीमाचा च नमः

(OM NAMAH UGRAYACHA BHEEMAVACHA NAMAH)

Draksharama Inscriptions (Mackenzie Series — Edited by Prof. Y. V. Ramana; General Editor : Sri R. Parthasarathy; Published by the State Archives; Government of Andhra Pradesh; 1982 Pages 180; Price Rs.....

A DISTINCT WATER-SHED OF HISTORY :

History and Legend have given Draksharama a unique place among the temples of Andhra Pradesh, nay, even of this country. Greek Geographer Ptolemy in his travelogue, dating 150 A.D., refers to "Trilinga" for Andhra Desa, at one extremity of which was Draksharama of the Trilinga, the other two being Srisailam of Kurnool Dt. and Kaleswaram of Karimnagar Dist. Chronicles of Ceylonese conquest refer to 'Godavari Saptateertham' and 'Bheemeswara' with an oblique reference to Draksharama. Throughout history, Andhra Pradesh went through vicissitudes of political fortune, religious and literary development. 1000 A. D., represented a distinct land mark in the political history of Andhra Pradesh when the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi found themselves in a welter of confusion and the Andhra Desa was divided between Eastern Chalukyas and the Telugu Cholas and minor chieftains owing alligiance to 'suzerainty' of Chalukyas of Kalyani. The Draksharama inscriptions also formed a landmark characterising the decline of Buddhism and Jainism and the ascendancy of Saivism and Vaishnavism. Interspersed and alternative references to Eastern Gangas as "*Parama Maheswara*" and "*Parama Vaishnva*" occur.

DONATIVE INSCRIPTIONS :

The Draksharama Inscriptions, mostly donative type, referred to institution of grants for 'perpetual lamps' for the God. An 'Agricultural-fief' bought from a number of Brahmins was donated for offering of sandal and camphor. An inscription pertaining to the 8th year of his reign makes a mention to Anianka Bhima's gift of Pushpamahali wieghing 840 'gadiyas' to Lord Bheemeswara. A few epithets in this connection testify to the eclectic approach of devotion not only to orthodox creeds of Saivism and Vaishnavism, but also heterodox

creed of Jainism. Even the Gajapatis, who followed the Gangas continued their affiliation to Draksharama as evidenced by later inscriptions which mention villages being granted for the maintenance of temple servants and also other gifts to God Bheemeswara of Draksharama (a record Dates 34 Anka year of Purushothama Gajapati). In sheer span of time-frame of political and religious history, Draksharama inscriptions have a length comparable only to a very few other historic records, and give vital clues for unravelling the hoary past; Temple was not merely a place of worship, but almost every activity of human life centred around it. Not only aristocrats, but merchants and mendicants, traders and commoners belonging to lower orders donated to the temples. The donors included temple attendants, garland makers, door keepers, untouchables, elephant riders, petty officers, artisans and tradesmen. Important arts of the country flourished, and the temple as an institution was common to the ruler and ruled.

MACKENZIE COLLECTIONS;

The inscriptions included in this monograph are culled from Mackenzie Collections.

An inscription dated 1055 S.E. of Velanati Gonka speaks about the donations by the individuals for the health and benefit of the kings.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE STATE :

Inscriptions, dated 1386 S.E. and 1025 S.E., reveal the economic conditions in Ancient Andhra. The inscription refers to the possessions and rights as gifts to the temple. The '*vritti*' or profession is evaluated in terms of land and is awarded by the rulers to individuals or groups. This gives a clue of the State's economic policy and we came to know how the agricultural land was distributed among artisans. Further this right on land was a transferable one.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS :

The inscriptions give an authentic information on social history of Andhra during 9th-10th centuries. An inscription, dated Ashya year, speaks of Veera Mukunda who gifted 16 Mahadanas and pearls and also remitted a marriage and nuptial tax. This inscription tells that the performance of marriage itself was a crushing burden on common folk.

Draksharama inscriptions give useful information on administrative aspects followed by the kings of Andhra Desa during 1071 S.E. of Perulayya Dandanayakulu and dated 1051 S.E. of Vishnuvardhana Vijayaraja vividly narrate the working of Administrative machinery. According to this inscription, officers like 'Mandaleswara,' Bodhinayaka, Aneka Mahamandaleswaras etc., held sway over different regions during the period. The inscription also gives geographical divisions of Andhra Desa. It further shows that the Andhra Society was completely dominated and ruled by the caste-chiefs. It clearly narrates how the society in Andhra was dominated by caste-politics. The inscriptions mentioned about Kammanadu, Velanadu, Prolandu, and Venginadu as territories dominated by castes.

TAX-POLICY :

Light is thrown on tax policies of the State. An inscription, dated 1586 S. E. of Vemavaram Vemareddy, speaks about levy of *Vritti*, house, garden, cultivable land taxes. Another inscription of Tribhuvana Malladevara described cereals, pulses and grain grown in regions.

TRADE :

The people and the kings patronised horticulture; there is also a reference about garden of Pittapuram and Tuni. The betel leaf industry at Tuni was encouraged by kings and formed the 'Sheet anchor' of flourishing trade.

The State Archives has given an imprint on the monograph brought out by Sri Y. V. Ramana, a distinguished teacher and eminent historian with well over 40 years' standing in the field of higher education. The painstaking efforts he has taken to unravel the inscriptions by personal comparison with the original inscription makes this publication highly authentic and give flesh and blood to what might otherwise have been bland material. We hope this publication by the State Archives, would be yet another milestone in our intellectual journey, and I hope, would prove to be a source material for kindling further research. □

R. PARTHASARATHY, I.A.S.,

Adhunika Andhra Desa Charitra — By Dr. K. Sundaram; General Editor : Sri R. Parthasarathy — A Regular Monograph Published by the State Archives, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh 1982. Pages 88; Price Rs.

Dr. Sundaram's Monograph now carrying the 'imprint' of the State Archives Department of Andhra Pradesh satisfies the dictum that "If Archives is a product of history, Historians are responsible for the promotion of Archival Holdings". In the present narration Dr. Sundaram takes up a very wide 'canvass' of the emergence of Andhra Pradesh from the ancient to the modern times, tracing the various facets of historical developments from the early period through the 18th and 19th centuries to the birth of 'nascent Andhra Pradesh' in 1956. It is to be acknowledged that, though it is difficult in a narration covering several centuries to portray 'myriad' economic and social developments, Dr. Sundaram has done enough justice to make the narration interesting by alluding to details where they help in sustaining the interest of the narration.

The Scheme of narration followed is as follows :—

CHAPTER I

In the introductory chapter, the author has stated his objective in writing this monograph. Andhra Desa has a very long and 'hoary'-past. It is a state blessed with Godavari and Krishna rivers, and has witnessed vicissitudes of fortune during different dynasties. Nevertheless, Andhras who were constantly motivated by a desire to uphold their individuality, braved challenges and withstood the tests of times. The Monograph highlights such challenges, their attempts to thwart them and how ultimately they succeeded in exhibiting an individuality of their own.

Although the modern Andhra History starts from almost the beginning of the 18th century, there are innumerable references even to the Vedic lore and also subsequently-for example to intra-religious inscriptions etc. The author mentioned about the periods of Satavahanas, Ikshavakus, Vengichalukyas, Chalukya Cholas, Kakatiyas, the Rajas of Vijayanagaram, Qutubshahi's and Nizams etc.

CHAPTER II : ANDHRA DESA IN THE 18th CENTURY :

At the beginning of the 18th century, Andhra Desa was ruled

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by the 'Asaf-Jahi' dynasty with Hyderabad as the Capital. For Administrative Convenience the Coastal Andhra was divided into four units viz., Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Kondapally circars : Nellore Circar was merged with Karnataka and controlled by Arcot Nawab. Similarly Rayalaseema was kept under the control of Nawabs having autonomous status, but owing allegiance to the Nizam. The chapter traces the rivalry between the French and the British, and the different wars that were fought between them involving the changes of ruling kings in Andhra Desa. The Chapter also discusses about the establishment of commercial undertakings by the British, French, Dutch and the internecine quarells that preceded it. This Chapter also traces the situation at the time of the death of the Nizam-ul-Mulk and how the British brought under their grip in stages the various parts of the Andhra Desa. The Author discusses about the Pusapaties of Vijayanagaram, Polygars of Anantapur, and Cuddapah, Sultans of Mysore etc., and the conditions of instability in the different parts of Andhra Desa. Weak and Centralised autocracy, and powerful, decentralised feudal, and over-bearing chieftains or rulers were characterstic of the history of the period.

CHAPTER III : ASAF JAH I DYNASTY IN TELANGANA :

This chapter deals with the different rulers of the Asaf-Jahi Dynasty in Telangana. After tracing the origin of this dynasty, the author alludes to different important steps taken in this period like laying the Railway lines from Secunderabad to Warangal, and Dornakal to Bezawada, and substitution of Persian by Urdu as official language.

CHAPTER IV : THE COMPANY RULE IN ANDHRA DESA :

The author tries to show how Andhras were not able to bear the injustice meted to them but had often become victims of conspiracy and superior over-riding power. This led to uprising which ultimately helped in indicating the thirst for independence. In this Chapter, there are references to Vijayanagaram, Palcondah, Parlakimidi, Gumsoor, Golgondah and Mogaltoor and Nuzvid Zamindars, Agency disturbances, and the rise of Adoni and Chittoor Polygars.

CHAPTER V : ANDHRA DESA UNDER BRITISH CROWN :

The Chapter deals with the administrative changes brought about under the rule by the British Crown and the development in

various walks of life like industry, irrigation, transport and communication, Agriculture, Education and religion etc. This was the period when a number of Social reformers appeared on the scene. Extensive reporting has been done on the contribution of Sri Kandukuri Veerasalingam Pantulu, Sri Raghupati Venkata Ratnam Naidu, Sri Gurujada Appa Rao and Nyapati Subba Rao in no small a measure, to political and social awakening.

CHAPTER VI : NATIONAL MOVEMENT :

National Movement for freedom inspired Andhras as well. The author has taken pains to go into very minute details to trace the origin and culminating point of the movement. Different individuals, their association with Mahatma Gandhi, their contributions, the privations they had to suffer, even their occasional 'brushing' with death, their undaunted and steadfast desire to achieve independence, the places that figured in the drama, and similar details find a place in the narration. The heroes are many.— To mention a few, Sri Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao, Sri Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Sri Alluri Seetarama Raju, Sri Ayyadevara Kalaeswara Rao, Andhra Kesari Tanguturi Prakasam, Sri Duggirala Gopala Krishnayya, Acharya Ranga, Sri Burugula Rama Krishna Rao, Swami Ramananda Tirtha, Sri Madapati Hanumantha Rao, and Sri M. Narasing Rao etc.

CHAPTER VII : DAWN OF ANDHRA PRADESH :

This chapter deals with the formation of Andhra Pradesh, and events that worked towards it. The formation of Andhra State in 1953, Andhra Pradesh in 1956, Telangana Agitation in 1972 and the imposition of the President's Rule in Andhra Pradesh in 1975 find chronological description.

The last chapter, tracing the socio-economic development of the new State is a 'crowning-end' to the Monograph which high-lights the developments in various fields of Agriculture, Industry, Education and Social Services sectors. We get a glimpse of the transition for traditional to modern State.

Andhra Pradesh is the Fifth largest state and fourth most populous State in the country endowed with natural sources – Agricultural, forests, mineral, Industry in the State is at Cross-Roads, having attained a position among the other states of fifth in overall development, sixth in Employment, seventh in output and eighth in productive capital and 'value-added'.

The Monograph is not merely a chronology of facts or chronicle of events. It is fit enough to be prescribed as a text book for student of Andhra Pradesh History at the School and Collegiate levels. Cultural history of Andhra Pradesh in the post Vijayanagar period is a missing link, and I feel that this book will give the 'backdrop' for such an attempt which should also give the role of different regions and districts in the cultural transformation. The 'ethos' of a generation of people who held the Nation above self is to guide our students, and towards this endeavour, this book has made a valuable contribution. □

R. PARTHASARATHY, I.A.S.,

Andhrodyama Charitra —By Madala Veerabhadra Rao;
General Editor : Sri R. Parthasarthy; A Regular Monograph
Published by the State Archives, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh
Hyderabad, 1982. Pages.... Rs.....

Descriptive accounts of Freedom Movement in India, much more for Andhra Pradesh are not few, Sri Madali Veerabhadra Rao's present attempt 'Andhrodyama Charitra' is on slightly different footing as his description adds 'verve' to the account by a person who was not merely a spectator of the events, but a participant in the show-down of seething discontent against alien rule. Throughout history, Andhra Pradesh has gone through 'ebbs and tides' and the crest flowed into troughs, and troughs receded and rose to 'crescendos' of heights of excellence. In the different faces of the freedom struggle, Andhras have demonstrated that though they were 'late-starters', they were next to none in their emotional identification with the country and the people. Harmonious influence of the divergent view-points and attitudes into the central current of National Freedom Movement is visible throughout the narration by Sri Veerabhadra Rao. In a fairly long account, spanning three centuries in the pre-Independence and post independence eras it may be difficult, and even out of place, to portray 'myriad' details of a macro-scopic scheme but because of his personal knowledge, Sri Veerabhadra Rao has done justice sufficiently to this aspects also. He has wielded his pen to contrast a fragmentic, local or state approach to a problem with that of the National approach in the background of the ferment, that had overtaken the country during the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1921, Salt Satyagraha of 1920 and Quit India Movement of 1942. Every such contrast is later reconciled and synthesised with a National battle for freedom. He has similarly made certain references to the views of Rajaji, Vallabhai Patel and Subash Chandra Bose in regard to vivisection of the country on linguistic basis. The essence of author's message is that : "It was a feeling of injustice here, or a discrimination there, that wounded people's sentiments and kindled the embers of fire and fight; but ultimately Andhras stood for upholding justice, and what they considered were their legitimate rights".

His allusion in the first chapter of J.V.S. Halden, Max Muller and Huan Tsang threw flood light on the culture and linguistic values of Telugu people. In the second chapter the events which culminated in the Vandemataram Movement, inspired by Tilak, Lajpat Roy and Bipin Chandra Paul (Bal, Lal and Paul) are described in an inimitable style characteristic of the author. Krishna District political conference in Nandigama, Andhra conference at Bandar, Eluru conferences and Nidadavole meet, are described in a manner that in the pageant of incidents and events, the heroes stand out singularly and 'life-like' throughout the narration. Guntur Yuvajana Sahitya Sumiti is acknowledged by the author as having helped in bringing the leaders of the movement to one platform. The author has led a frontal attack on injustices done to Andhras from time to time, and the 'divide and rule' policies adopted against them. The influence of Andhra Movement on adjoining provinces of Travancore, Cochin and Karnataka have received a lucid treatment in the detailed account contained in this monograph.

Nationalist movements, besides mass mobilisation, naturally lead to social, cultural and political movement of various sorts. The present work would naturally lead to further inquisitive studies of stirrings in these fronts and even a comparative study between the causative factors and the consequences of freedom movements in the two regions of the State. There is little in this account which may not be well known to the expert, but it has really, covered a new frontier by providing a blend of critical subtlety, with out-reaching empathy and open mindedness of ways of life, thoughts and values of different people and the changes that have taken place, and are taking place in that part of Andhra which formed a 'limbo' of the Composite Madras State. All may not agree with all that is said by Sri Veerabhadra Rao, but the acid test of any writing is in sustaining the interest in the reader, in that he succeeds in an ample measure.

The book, and the memories that go with it, are dedicated by us to the people of Andhra Pradesh and the 'Founding Fathers' of this State. None of the people or institutions who helped in taking this monograph to proof-reading are, in any way, responsible for the particular views expressed, but if there is anything useful it is surely due to them, and unnamed others like them.

ON SHRI MADALI VEERABHADRA RAO

Sri Madali Veerabhadra Rao belongs to a generation of heroic

men who happend to be born when this country was under Foreign yoke, and who was not only a spectator to the events in the pre-independence period, but was also an active participant. The thirst for freedom was in his very blood having been born to his father Sri M. Butchi Raju, the Head Karnam of Madala Village in Guntur District, who spearheaded the non-cooperation movement and refused to pay land revenue as part of the overall programme of struggle against the British Imperialiam. Sri Veerabhadra Rao was associated as an office-bearer of the Sarveypalli Taluq Congress Committee. (He was its General Secretary from 1938 to 1942 and was President of the District Youth Association between 1942-45). He was also associated with the work of the District Rytu Sangam, Andhra Silpa Kala Parishad and Andhra Grandhalaya Sangam.

He has a very wide journaliatic experience as evidenced by the list of his works, as an Editor of very important journals published from different parts of this State and also from other States. He is a 'prolific' writer and, besides writing various books listed below, contributed well over 300 articles to journals in Telugu on subjects, covering socio-economic and developmental fields ; his personal knowledge of the men and matters he has dealt with adds interest and authenticity to the entire narration, though the reader may not agree with all his views.

There is one central message which the character of Sri Veerabhadra Rao's depiction seem to convey : "Sukha Dukh, Same Krtva, Labha labham, Jaya jayam, Tato Yuddhaya Jujayasve Naivim, Papan Avapyasi" (treating alike pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, get ready for battle ; thus thou shall not incur sin). □

R. PARTHASARATHY I.A.S.,

Grama Kaifiyatulu — (Mackenzie collection) General Editor : Sri R. Parthasarathy; Published as Regular Monograph by the State Archives, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad 1982. Pages : 115 Price Rs.

THE GREAT ANTIQUARIAN :

The great 'Antiquarian' and scholar-administrater, Col. Mackenzie, created out of his work in the territories of Mysore and Ceded districts valuable records which help in the reconstruction of a quantitative socio-economic history of India relating to the territories covered by the treaty with the British signed by Nizam in 1800. The Nizam ceded to the 'British-Raj', territories acquired from Mysore, covering the districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur and Cuddapah. Col. Mackenzie was appointed by the Governor General "to undertake a survey on an extensive scale of the territories lately subjected to the Company. The attention of the surveyor was not to be confined to mere military or geographical figures of statistical accounts of the whole country." Col. Mackenzie's survey of Ceded Districts was completed by 1844.

MACKENZIE KAIFIYATS :

The 'Dandakaviles' or village records, containing fund of information about political, religious, social and economic conditions in the village in the custody of village officers who recorded important events, enthused Mackenzie into a systematic collection of the material from different parts of Andhra Desa. Mackenzie's assistants, Kavali Venkata Borrayya, Lakshmayya and others prepared a digest of village records Jotted by Karnams, which are known as 'Kaifiyats'. Partly fable, mostly the kaifiyats are 'authentic-accounts' with locational details like Agro-climatic and economic conditions, mineral wealth, details of grants and grantees, legends of pilgrim centres, family accounts of zamindaris and 'nuances' of trade.

GUNTUR KAIFIYATS :

The Department of Archives has initiated research projects based on these collections and microfilm copies of the Brown's repro-

ductions of original Mackenzie's collections. The present publication is an outcome of such efforts on Guntur Taluk. We wish to publish taluk-wise information which would be handy, and cost-wise, within the reach of the users among public men, academicians and research scholars. The information gleaned from 'Guntur Kaifiyats' encompass the present Guntur District which was earlier known as Velanadu in the east, bounded by Pallinadu in the West, and 'Kammanadu' in the South. The subject of the Kaifiyat covers the period of Kakatiyas, and the Reddies of Kondaveedu during periods till the Guntur ceded to the British Raj. The Kaifiyats represent a singular 'mosaic' of fact and fiction, puranic and legend, eulogising and abusing, ethical and philosophical and material and the temporal. Starting with a puranic account of a village contained in the so called 'stalapuranas' and superstitious myths, Kaifiyats set-foot on the ground and describe the land, the rates, extents, family history, grants made to pan'tits and purohits, veterans and vaidyas, trade names and measurement like 'Katta', 'Kunta', 'marloor' etc. There is an interesting reference to 'Arava-Karnams' (Tamil Karanams) who used to write the accounts of Kondaveeti-Haveli till Nyogi Karanams supplanted them. Interesting and unusual taxes like the 'Vruthi-Pannu' (tax on birth), 'Poyyala-Pannu' (tax on ovens) and 'Sisuvula-Pannu' (tax on babies) give curious insight into the approach of the kings and chieftains to problems of State economy and State craft. The commentary, here and there, is designed to 'lift-up' the contents of the book, but the reader has been left much of the joy of the such discovery by himself from the inscriptions. While throwing the kaifiyats open to the discerning scholars and readers, I am reminded of Right Honourable Shri Srinivasa Sastry's exposition of Ramayana and what it means to different people. I would say the same thing about kaifiyats in Sri Sastry's inimitable style of English as follows : "There is an illimitable ocean spread out before us as witness to the majesty and incomprehensibility of the nature. On the shore of the beach you may have a poet thinking in rhapsodies of what he sees and the splendours that meet his vision ; A philosopher will amuse and reconstruct the very great thought that put these things together in space. You may have a pious man who simply takes his mind to the consciousness and contemplation of the Great Almighty who made the ocean, the sky and things that revolve in eternal 'samsara'. At the same time, with these people of high quality, you may have children playing on the beach who merely take up the sands and throw them at each other. Each does his part." The Mackenzie inscriptions are to me, like that veritable and

expanding sea before the philosopher, the poet, or the God man and finally the children. (perhaps all of us).

The monograph is a happy blend of the historical, locational, the stylistic the philosophical and the devotional aspects, welded and meshed into a detailed account. I leave it to different sections of the people to make different uses of it. □

R. PARTHASARATHY, I.A.S.,





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R. TIRUMALAI I.A.S. (Late)

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